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A CRITICAL EDITION OF ROBERT TOFTE'S
TRANSLATION OF ARIOSTO'S "SATIRES" (1608).

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA, PH.D., 1978

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A CRITICAL EDITION OF ROBERT TOFTE'S TRANSLATION OF ARIOSTO'S SATIRES (1608)

by

James Lee Pence

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

In the Graduate College

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

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GRADUATE COLLEGE

I hereby recommend that this dissertation prepared under my direction by James Lee Pence

entitled A Critical Edition of Robert Tofte's Translation of Ariosto's Satires (1608)

be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Richard Hunter — Dissertation Director — 7 August 1978 — Date

As members of the Final Examination Committee, we certify that we have read this dissertation and agree that it may be presented for final defense.

Richard Hunter	7 August 1978
W. D. Jenkins	14 August 1978
John E. McKinley	11 August 1978

Final approval and acceptance of this dissertation is contingent on the candidate's adequate performance and defense thereof at the final oral examination.

STATEMENT BY AUTHOR

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SIGNED: James Lee Pence

For Janet --

Io dico che pensando il suo valore,

Amor sì dolce me si fa sentire,

Che s'io allora non perdessi ardere,

Farei parlando innamorar la gente.

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ABSTRACT

In the Introduction to this edition I discuss Tofte's biography, describe his canon, analyze his translation of Ariosto's Satires, and provide a statement of editorial principles. The Text includes a facsimile of the title page of Tofte's book, the epistle "To the Reader," the "Argument of the whole worke," the text of the seven satires, and Tofte's 191 annotations. The Explanatory Notes identify Tofte's sources and allusions, comment on the accuracy of his translation and the nature of his annotations, and identify his additions to and deletions from the Italian text. The Textual Notes contain four lists: (1) Emendations of Substantives; (2) Emendations of Accidentals; (3) Emendations of Punctuation; and (4) Rejected Substantive Variants in the 1611 Edition. The Glossary records definitions of obsolete or archaic words used by Tofte. A List of Works Cited follows the Glossary.

Ariosto's Satyres was printed at London by Nicholas Okes for Roger Jackson in 1608; a reprint of this followed in 1611. Although the name of Gervase Markham appears on the title page of the 1608 edition, it is clear that Robert Tofte (1561?-1620) was the translator. In the text of his translation and in his copious annotations, Tofte attempted to adapt Ariosto's Satires to an audience he assumed to be more interested in Ariosto's biography and Italian customs than in a faithful translation. Nevertheless, his book is the first English translation of the earliest vernacular imitations of formal verse satire.

INTRODUCTION*

Robert Tofte

The younger son of William Tofte and Mary Cowper, Robert Tofte was born in December or January 1561/2 in the parish of St. Magnus Martyr in Bridge Ward, London. William, a fishmonger, died in 1563, only five years after his marriage. Mary, who remarried in 1567 and bore three more children, died sometime between 1595 and 1618, the exact date being unknown. The poet's brother John may have sailed with Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins on their disastrous voyage of 1595. If he did, he was among the small remnant who returned safely; he died in 1599.[1] Little else is known of the poet's family.[2]

Nothing is known about Tofte's early life, and there are contradictory views of his education. Williams believes that "the poet's education remains a mystery, and no one of the name appears at either university" (p. 285). But Fox states flatly: "Robert went to Oxford, the following entry appearing in Foster's 'Alumni Oxoniensis 1500-1714,' 'Robert Tafte of London Gent. Coll. Matric. 24th Nov. 1581 Aged 19'" (p. 11). Tofte signed his name "R. Tafte" in at least one instance, in his annotations of a 1561 edition of the works of Chaucer.[3] It is also possible that the "Robert Tafte" who is named in a Public Records Office document as the recipient of a fee for carrying letters from the court of Elizabeth to the English ambassador in France is the poet (Williams, p. 287).

---

*References and other notes to the Introduction begin on page 63.

Sometime before 1590 Tofte made the first of his journeys to the Continent. According to Williams, he spent considerable time in France before 1590 when he probably met Henry Constable and Thomas Watson in Paris (p. 286). Between March 1591 and June 1594, Tofte travelled in Italy, where he may have met Samuel Daniel (Williams, p. 287). During his years in Italy, Tofte appears to have begun two of his works, both of which were published in 1597: Two Tales, Translated out of Ariosto and Laura. The extent of Tofte's travels on the Continent, the details of his contacts with English and Italian literati, the substance of his intellectual pursuits, and the depth of his immersion in the cultures of the countries he visited remain largely unknown.

Between the date of his return to England in 1594 and his death in 1620, Tofte resided in London in the midst of the Inns of Court. From 1597 he lived in Holborn at St. Andrew's parish, where Richard Bancroft, soon to be the Bishop of London, served as rector (Williams, p. 292). Brief autobiographical passages in his works, all written between 1597 and 1615, provide scant information on his personal activity during his London years.

On 30 March 1618 Tofte signed his will, which has been described as "long, verbose, and pious" (Williams, p. 294). Nothing is known about the last years of his life, although Leslie Hotson, citing an undated, untitled poem attributed to Tofte,[4] suggests that the poet made a sea voyage to America in order to purge his lover's melancholy (p. 234). Hotson's suggestion is not corroborated by any of the principle commentators on Tofte.

The exact date of Tofte's death is not known. His will was proved on 3 January 1620 in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (Williams, p. 294), and the parish-register of St. Andrew's records the following notice:

> 19 / 1620 Buried at St. Andrew's Holborn
> Jan. 24 Robert Tofte, Gent, out of Widow
> Goodal's house near Barnard's Inn.
>
> (Grosart, p. v)

The will, which Grosart prints in its entirety, shows that Tofte left a considerable estate to relatives and friends and that he was free of debt (Grosart, p. viii). Williams has identified each of the beneficiaries and has described the relationship of each to the poet (pp. 294-95). Noticeably absent from the list is any reference to an immediate family. Fox believes that Tofte never married (p. 12), and Grosart reports that "he died a bachelor, having not loved wisely but too well" (p. xi). Williams, noting the existence of a record in the register of St. Magnus parish of the marriage of Robert Tofte to Brygget Redwood, concludes that this Robert Tofte was another person, possibly a relative (p. 285). Nothing in Tofte's works indicates that he was ever married. On the contrary, the misogyny that is characteristic of the later works encouraged F. P. Wilson to attribute The Batchelars Banquet, an anonymous translation of Les Quinze Joyes de Mariage, to Tofte on the strength of the poet's well documented interest in anti-feminist literature (pp. xxxii-xxxv).

The will also suggests that Tofte was a Protestant:

> I Robert Tofte of London gent beyng well in bodie and sound in mynde (thanckes unto the highest for the same)

> bequeath my soule unto my Savyoure Jesus Xriste and my bodie to be buried where I shall appoynte, affirming my ffaith and beliefe to be such as is the auncient Catholicke and Apostolicke faith and Creede and such as the holie fathers, Patriarkes Prophettes Apostles and Martirs did professe, I knowing and acknowledging my selfe to be a most vile and wretched Synner and that thoroughe synne I have deserved everlasting deathe. But by the grace and mercy from above hope to enjoye eternall life, not beleving nor once ymmagining to be saved by any Deede or meritt of myne owne (for alas good is none nor godlilie can any one doe of him selfe but onlie by the passion and precious bloud of oure only Savyoure Jesus Xriste Whoe cam into the worlde to save Repentant Synners, of which nomber I acknowledge my selfe to be one: And therefor undoubtedlie perswade my selfe I shalbe saved by his Deathe and that I was borne and predestinated (as beyng his chosen childe) unto Salvation, and the contrary to this neither the fleshe the worlds nor the Divell hym selfe shalbe able to perswade me, suche and so stronge is my sound faithe in this poynte not unlyke an unpregnable rocke which is never to be removed come what tempest storme surge waves or Seas whatsoever. . . .
>
> (Grosart, p. vi)

Although Tofte's published works maintain a surprising neutrality on matters of religion, his translation of Ariosto's Satires does expand on the anti-papal sentiment of the Italian original.[5] His unpublished Discourse of the five laste Popes (1598)[6] is said to make clear his firm Protestant beliefs, but only in some few revealing phrases where he condemns the Inquisition, pokes fun at papal activities in Ireland, and refers to Catholicism as "superstitious and profane" (Williams, p. 289).

In spite of the contribution of Williams to the findings of Collier and Grosart, so little is known of the life of Robert Tofte that no biography can exist independently of a discussion of his works. From the canon itself a description of the man emerges; from his works we shall probably know more about Robert Tofte than the meager facts of his biography can ever tell. He is a perfect example of those many "minor"

Elizabethan poets who might easily have been forgotten but for some accident of history or for a brief encounter with literary success. In the case of Robert Tofte, the popularity of French and Italian literature in early seventeenth-century England was the happy accident of history; the taste of the reading public for translations of continental works is all that has kept "R. T. Gentleman" from total anonymity.

Tofte's Works

Robert Tofte's published canon consists of four original works (Laura, 1597; Alba, 1598; Three Elegies appended to the second edition of Ariosto's Satires, 1611; and The Fruits of Jealousie appended to The Blazon of Jealousie, 1615), five translations from the Italian (Two Tales, Translated out of Ariosto, 1597; Orlando Inamorato, 1598; Of Mariage and Wiving, 1599; Ariosto's Satyres, 1608; and The Blazon of Jealousie, 1615), and one translation from French (Honours Academie, 1610). The canon of his unpublished works includes three manuscripts; an original prose treatise (Discourse of the five laste Popes, 1598), another translation from French (The Loves of Armide, 1597), and an untitled, undated poem purportedly describing a visit to America. In addition, The Batchelars Banquet (1603), an anonymous translation of the French prose discourse Les Quinze Joyes de Mariage, has been attributed to him. There is not, however, unanimous agreement on a fixed canon, and the three most recent bibliographies of Tofte differ markedly.[7]

Franklin Williams has noted the existence of three identifying characteristics in the Tofte canon: the title page ascription

"R. T. Gentleman," which appears on the titles of all published books except Ariosto's Satyres; a rime pecularity in the verse; and the use of the nickname "Robin Redbreast," which Tofte was fond of incorporating into his works (pp. 405-6). The rime peculiarity characteristic of Tofte's verse, a preference for false rimes or assonance, is useful as a mark of identification. In Satire 1 of Ariosto's Satyres, for example, there are seven instances of false rimes.[8]

Another characteristic of the canon is Tofte's fondness for name-dropping and allusion. In the great majority of his books, references to famous contemporaries and their works lead the reader to believe that Tofte moved in a select circle of literary acquaintances and was a recognized literary arbiter. He was particularly fond of alluding to the works of Shakespeare, and in some cases, of borrowing exact lines and phrases.[9] Perhaps the most famous of his allusions is found in Alba, where he makes the earliest known references to Shakespeare's comedy:

> Loves Labor Lost, I once did see a Play,
> Ycleped so, so called to my paine,
> Which I to heare to my small Joy did stay,
> Giving attendance on my froward Dame.
> My misgiving minde presaging to me ill
> Yet was I drawne to see it gainst my Will.
>
> This Play no Play, but Plague was unto me,
> For there I love the Love I liked most:
> And what to others seemde a Jest to be,
> I, that (in earnest) found unto my cost
> To every one (save me) twas Comicall,
> Whilst Tragick like to me it did befall.
>
> Each Actor plaid in cunning wise his part,
> But chiefly those entrapt in Cupids snare:

> Yet all was fained, twas not from the hart,
> They seemde to grieve, but yet they felt no care:
> Twas I that Griefe (indeed) did beare in brest,
> The others did but make a show in Jest.
>
> (sig. G5)

In his annotations to The Blazon of Jealousie Tofte refers to Constable, Watson, and Daniel as though they were his very close companions, although he never elucidates the exact nature of his relationship to them.

Tofte's works have been described, in varying degrees of detail, by John Payne Collier, Mary Augusta Scott, and Franklin B. Williams.[10] The following brief account of the canon, excluding Ariosto's Satyres which will be discussed in detail in the next section of the Introduction, does not attempt to reiterate the analyses of Collier, Scott, and Williams but to provide the reader with a concise survey of the scope and interests of Tofte's literary endeavors.

Tofte's first book, a sonnet sequence entitled Laura. The Toyes of a Traveller. Or the Feast of Fancie, was printed by Valentine Sims in 1597, although it was begun while the poet was in Italy in 1592.[11] The book is divided into three parts, each containing forty numbered "sonnets" alternately of ten and twelve lines. In a dedicatory epistle to Lady Lucy Percy, sister of the Third Earl of Northumberland, Tofte calls his collection "a few Toys of mine own travail: most part conceived in Italy, and some of them brought forth in England." In the preliminary verses dedicated "Alla bellissima sua Signora E. C.," who has not been positively identified, he introduces his standard practice of incorporating his nickname into his books:

> And though the note, thy praises only fit,
> Of sweetest bird, the dulcet nightingale:
> Disdain not little Robin RedbreasT yet!
> He sings his lowly best if he doth fail.
> What he doth want in learning or in skill;
> He doth supply with zeal of his good will.

Interest in this volume seems to have been encouraged by the printer's address: "What the Gentleman was, that wrote these verses, I know not; and what She is, for whom they are devised, I cannot guess: but thus much I can say, that as they came into the hands of a friend of mine by mere fortune; so happened I upon them by as great a chance." Mary Scott accepted the printer's claim and the claim of piracy made by one "R. B." in "A Friend's just excuse" appended to the end of the volume:

> Without the author's knowledge, as is before said by the Printer; this Poem is made thus publicly known; which, with my best endeavor, the Gentleman himself, suspecting what is now proved too true, at my coming up, earnestly intreated me to prevent. But I came at the last sheet's printing; and find more than thirty sonnets not his, intermixt with his. Helped it cannot be, but by the well judging reader: who will, with less pain distinguish them, than I, on this sudden, possibly can. To him then, I refer that labour.

The thirty sonnets supposedly not by Tofte are indistinguishable from the others. In style, subject matter, meter, and verse form, the "sonnets" show unfailing consistency. Williams dismisses the claims of the printer and of "R. B." as a bookseller's ruse: "the elaborate pretence of piracy will not endure examination" (p. 407). With some justification Laura has been called "a pale reflection of Petrarch."[12]

Near the end of 1597 Tofte's first translation from Italian was published: Two Tales, Translated out of Ariosto: The one in dispraise

of Men, the other in disgrace of Women. With certain other Italian stanzas and Proverbs. This too was printed at London by Valentine Sims.[13] The printer's address in Two Tales is strikingly similar to the address in Laura; both appear to be calculated attempts to encourage sales:

> These two Tales translated out of ARIOSTO...were not done by this Translator, to compare (as it were) with master Harringtons verses (for he acknowledgeth himselfe every way his inferiour) but for his owne private exercise, and at the earnest intreatie of some gentlemen his friends, all which he did in the yeere 1592. he being then in Italie. Yet the rather is hee content they should come abroad, because that by the harshness of the one, you may perceive the sweetenesse of the other.

Harington's translation of Orlando Furioso appeared in 1591 and became instantly popular. Doubtless the printer of Tofte's slim volume felt compelled to justify a book that hoped to compete on even a limited basis with Harington's "remarkable achievement."[14]

Both tales are from Canto 43 of the Orlando Furioso. The first is the tale of Melissa (stanzas 11 to 47) in which the landlord confesses to Rinaldo that his jealousy of his wife brought him to ruin. Although the landlord blames the enchantress Melissa for causing him to test his wife unnecessarily, Rinaldo responds by admonishing him for his believing that men are morally stronger than women. Tofte's translation follows the Italian very closely, rarely departing from a literal transcription of Ariosto's language or syntax. In Stanza 24, for example, Ariosto has the landlord describe the thrust of Melissa's temptation:

> Un dì che mi trovò fuor del palagio
> la maga, che nomata era Melissa,
> e mi poté parlare a suo grande agro,
> modo trovò da por mia pace in rissa,

> e con lo spron di gelosia malvagio
> cacciar del cor la fé che v'era fissa:
> Comincia a comendar la intenzion mai,
> ch'io sia fedele a chi fedel mi sia.[15]

Tofte's rendering of the stanza shows a clear and somewhat confining fidelity to the text:

> One day as forth, this witch of Pallas mine,
> Melissa found me, (so each did her call)
> And to discourse with me had space and time,
> She found the means to turne my sweete to gall,
> That faith I had still of my wife so kind,
> Through jealousie she causde from heart to fall,
> Beginning thus: She praised mine intent,
> Faithfull to be where faithfulnesse was meant.
>
> (sig. $K4^{v}$)

Harington did not adhere so closely to the text in translating the same stanza:

> *Melyssa*, so was this enchauntresse name,
> Perceiving still in vayne to me she sewed,
> Once finding me at leysure to me came
> And in most cunning sort her suit renewed,
> And secretly she kindled jealous flame
> Within my breast, which oft I since have rued.
> She saith I do but well so true to be
> Unto my wife, if she were so to me.
>
> (McNulty, p. 495)

While the great translators of the Elizabethan age, like Golding, Harington, Hoby, Florio, North, and Holland, preferred concrete diction to abstract and attempted to record in specific detail the fullest possible meaning of their texts,[16] Tofte seems to have concentrated on transcribing the surface meaning. Oftentimes he amplifies the original text with additions that explain <u>his understanding</u> of the literal meaning; his intention seems to be to adapt the original text for an

English readership, and his books are more appropriately called "adaptations" than "translations."

The second tale is of Anselmo, Argia, and Adonio (stanzas 72 to 143).[17] Anselmo, the self-righteous judge, attempts to protect his beautiful wife Argia from temptation to commit adultery by isolating her from people and providing her with ample riches. When he leaves town to serve as ambassador for the ruling monarch, Argia is indeed tempted by and gives in to the cavalier Adonio, who gives her a "wondrous dog" that supplies her with more riches. Upon his return Anselmo tries to have Argia murdered, but she is protected by the fairy Manto, who had aided Adonio in his quest for Argia by turning herself into the dog. The murder attempt having been foiled, Anselmo falls to Manto's temptation of wealth and commits adultery himself with an old hag who promises him her beautiful mansion. Argia witnesses his sin, admonishes him for his weakness and self-righteousness, and suggests that they forgive one another and resume their lives together.

At the end of the second tale, Tofte includes an epilogue not found in the Italian. In his comments on Argia's wit and Anselmo's cuckoldry, the poet initiates a practice to which he will return many times in his translation of the Satires. He supplies moral sententiae where Ariosto gives none, and he supplements the Italian text without clearly indicating that the supplemental lines are his own:

> Thus by wisdome of this Lovely Wife,
> All former faults (soone) quite forgotten be,
> I doubt me (nowadays) few such are rife,
> Which would unto the same so willing gree,
> And chiefely when their Husbands sinne in life
> Against sweete BEAUTIES HEIRES so monstrously,

> But marvell none, the Doctors Hornes were blinde,
> Where he should go before, he went behinde.
>
> (sig. N4)

Two Tales was issued in quarto in 1597, occupying signatures K1 to N4. The "certain other Italian stanzas and Proverbs" indicated on the title page are lacking in the extant copies.

Tofte's next book, a translation of three cantos of Book I of Boiardo's Orlando Innamorato, is dated 1598 and occupies signatures A1 to I3 (I4 is blank). Williams suggests that Two Tales was originally printed as an appendix to the Orlando, and that the discrepancy in title-page dates may be explained by the printer's post-dating the main title page to promote sales (p. 414). The full title page of the Orlando, which was also printed by Valentine Sims, reads: Orlando Inamorato The three first Bookes of that famous Nobel Gentleman and learned Poet, Mathew Maria Boiardo Earle of Scandiano in Lombardia. Done into English Heroical Verse, by R. T. Gentleman.[18] In the dedication to Lady Margarite Morgan, the wife of Sir John Morgan of Chilworth, Tofte describes his book as a "Novell Matter." He intends it to be a "New-years gift these Hollidayes," something for her to enjoy during "these short dayes in Christmas." Williams' suggestion that Tofte's "gift" was made during the Christmas holidays of 1597/8 and that Two Tales was meant to be a part of that gift seems quite plausible.

Contrary to the title-page description of the book, Tofte's Orlando Inamorato is in reality a translation of the first three cantos of Book I of Boiardo's poem. Like Harington's Orlando Furioso, Tofte's work gives an argument at the beginning of each "booke" in which the

principal action is summarized and by which the reader's curiosity is supposed to be aroused. There are, however, no marginal comments or annotations similar to those which appear in Harington's volume. Tofte translates stanza for stanza from the Italian, digressing occasionally to include some reference to himself or to add moralizing commentary. In the first and second stanzas of "The Third Booke," for example, he refers to his own problems in love and calls attention to himself by repeatedly using the initials "RT": "LIGHT of mine eyes, LIFES spirit unto my HaRT" (stanza 1, line 1); and "DAZIE of CHESSHIRE, view my heavie plight,/Who am Loves MaRTire, tortured day and night" (stanza 2, ll. 7-8).

By the time Orlando Inamorato was given to the printer, Tofte must have completed (or nearly so) his next work. In the second stanza of "The First Booke" he identifies his "beloved," whose name furnishes the title for his second volume of original poems:

> If my Deare ALBA so much favor show,
> Who in her hate to me is too extreme,
> (Like sea that never ebbes, but still doth flow)
> My comfort's this, though high my Thoughts be plac't,
> If I obtain not, None shall Shee's so chaste.
>
> (sig. $A3^{v}$)

And again, in "The Conclusion" of the Orlando, he departs from the Italian text:

> Faire Shadowe of a Substance passing Faire,
> The Picture of my Mistris Excellence,
> Receive these lines impolished and bare,
> For unto thee, and none else are they meant,
> Daine to accept them what so e're they are,
> Since for thy sake, few idle houres I spent;
> So cristall-like still cleare may run thy BROOKE;
> Worthy on whom, all eyes may gaze and looke.

> The time may come (Ah that t'wold not be long)
> If my dread ALBA, leave in cruell wise,
> My harmlesse heart (ne're stainde for faith) to wrong,
> My Muse now dead, againe to life shall rise,
> Singing anew, ORLA[N]DOS lovely song,
> Through vertue of those Diamond sparkes, her eyes,
> When her and thee LOVES TWINS borne of Delight,
> Ile (Herrald-like) display, in Coullours right.
>
> (sig. $I3^{v}$)

These two stanzas are more appropriately seen as advertisements for his forthcoming Alba than as concluding remarks on Boiardo's poem.

Alba, The Monthes Minde of a Melancholy Lover, divided into three parts: by R. T. Gentleman was printed in early 1598 by Felix Kingston for Matthew Lownes. Like Laura it is a collection of "sonnets"; the verse pattern, however, is of four six-line stanzas similar to that of Venus and Adonis. Grosart's edition of Alba, which has contributed significantly to scholarship on Tofte, has not made Tofte's second volume of poems accessible to a readership since it appeared in an extremely limited edition.[19] Grosart, however, badly overestimated the book's worth: "I am much mistaken if, regarded as a whole, Robert Tofte's Alba, for its 'smothness' and musical flow and iridiscent fancies or conceits, do not make its way into after-Anthologies of our 'sweet Singers'" (p. xlvi).

Although Alba has no formal dedicatory epistle, it does have three verse dedications, each one a six-line, four-stanza poem, in which Alba's cruelty and inaccessibility are stressed. Tofte's poems, therefore, are "begot by Grief, brought forth as Sorrowes Childe." Following the dedicatory verses are four commendatory poems addressed to "R.T." Each poem compliments "Robin Redbreast" for his Alba and consoles him by

imploring him to "chirp on." One of the authors is identified by name, two by initials, and one by a pseudonym. Tofte gives an "Answer" to each of the commendatory poems and is careful to praise the critical acumen of those who have seen merit in his "sad verses."

The text of Alba contains ninety-seven four-stanza poems arranged in the manner of Petrarch's Canzoniere; each poem develops a "unique" aspect of the lover's enchantment with the beloved, his determination to love her, the lady's cruelty, or her unrivaled beauty. The following peom from the collection illustrates Tofte's concept of Petrarchanism and shows the excesses to which he was liable:

> ALBA I have not lived over long,
> Yet have I hollow eyes, and haires halfe gray:
> My yeares not many, for I am but yong,
> Though wrinkled be my cheekes and lims decay.
> But is this Destnie, or ist pure Deceit?
> That hath on me (thus) wrought this cunning feat?
>
> Ift be the first, why then none could prevent
> My wretched Stars to scape this miserie?
> Ift be the latter that such ill me ment,
> I needes must think it was mine Enemie:
> It was (indeed), thy selfe it was (Faire Witch)
> That with thy beautie wrought me to be sich.
>
> Thou art too Faire (I see) for to be true,
> And too too False for one that is so Faire:
> Yet for my wrongs thou seemest not to rue,
> Nor for my crosses ought at All dost care:
> And yet my Love's more fervent still towards thee,
> My sparks growne flames, my cinders bonfires bee.
>
> Only I grieve my daies are at an end,
> Fore I can of thee any favour gaine:
> And which is worse, I likely am to spend
> All the Remainder, yet no grace obtaine.
> Unhappie Pilgrim I, borne still to evill,
> To shrine her for a Saint, who is a Devill.
>
> (sig. G8^{v})

Tofte's version of the Petrarchan sonnet accentuates the use of oxymoron, antithesis, and sentiment well beyond that which is found in the Canzoniere.

In the final two lines Fox finds an allusion to Shakespeare's sonnet 144:

> To win me soon to hell, my female evil
> Tempteth my better angel from my side,
> And would corrupt my saint to be a devil
> Wooing his purity with her foul pride.[20]

This sonnet did not appear in print until William Jaggard included it without permission in The Passionate Pilgrim in 1599. If Tofte is indeed alluding to it in Alba, he may have seen the poem in manuscript. This possibility raises a number of interesting questions about the relationship between Alba and sonnet 144 and between Shakespeare and Tofte. Was Tofte among those "private friends" who received the "sugred Sonnets," as Francis Meres called them in the Palladis Tamia (1598)? Was this particular sonnet printed before Jaggard's piracy of 1599? Would the readers of Alba recognize the allusion to sonnet 144? Or was Tofte depending on his readers' not recognizing an image that he had "borrowed" from another poet? Ignorance of the dates of composition of Shakespeare's sonnets further hinders a complete understanding of the relationship between sonnet 144 and Tofte's poem, or between the authors. Undeniably, Tofte made free use of an agreeable phrase or pleasing line from Shakespeare and others whenever possible, especially if the phrase or line in question appeared in an unpublished or unknown work.

Another possibility is less convincingly proved but is perhaps more interesting to argue. Katharine Wilson, among others, has

suggested that Shakespeare's sonnets should be read as parodies in which Shakespeare makes fun of the artificiality of the conventional sonnet tradition.[21] She has established quite clearly that the sonnets of Drayton, Daniel, Sidney, and Greville provided Shakespeare with the matter, style, form, and even the cadence for successful parody. In the "Dark Lady" poems, for example, "he created a travesty of the sonnet lady, which highlights the artificiality of the sonneteers when they rave against their mistresses" (p. 144). According to Wilson, Shakespeare "borrowed" extensively from his contemporaries because his intent was to create parody, to derive satisfaction from such things as "making play with imagery or the situation, with exaggerating and mocking, with naive explanations or expressions of surprise that his experience is different, with translating sonnet situations into terms of reality and by treating them seriously showing how absurd they are" (pp. 320-21). Most scholars agree that the great majority of Shakespeare's sonnets were written between 1593 and 1596, although Wilson believes that early 1593 is the latest possible date (p. 352). Perhaps it is unlikely, but it is nevertheless possible, that in sonnet 144 Shakespeare was parodying Tofte's Alba, a collection of thoroughly conventional "sonnets" which included an uncomplimentary reference to Love's Labor's Lost. If this is the case, sonnet 144 must have been written sometime after the publication of Alba but before the appearance of The Passionate Pilgrim. Or, if Shakespeare saw an early version of Alba, the poem could have been earlier than the first part of 1598.

The relationship between Tofte and Shakespeare cannot be explained with certainty; Tofte's works do demonstrate that he knew

something of Shakespeare, but there is nothing in Shakespeare, excepting a possible reference to Alba in sonnet 144, to indicate that he knew Tofte. If Shakespeare ever did read Alba or Laura, he would have found in both very suitable objects for successful parody.

Tofte's first original book in prose was probably completed before Alba; it is dated "the first of Januarie 1598" but as far as is known it was never published. Lambeth Palace holds the autograph of A Discourse of the five laste Popes of Rome and of the firste Original and begininge of that famous Pilgrimage of our Ladie of Loreto. Whereunto is added a Draughte of the Lives of all such Romane Cardinalls, as are Livinge . . . . Gathered and Collected throughe the Travell and Industrie of Robert Tofte Gentleman. It has been described as "a workman-like compilation [that] is remarkably free from theological animus, and, for the most part, disappointingly impersonal" (Williams, p. 413). In addition to the contents listed on the title page, the manuscript of about one hundred unnumbered leaves contains engravings, woodcuts, and a three page Latin "Pasquin or Libell made in Rome" on the death of the Duke of Guise. The signed dedication to Richard Bancroft, Bishop of London, indicates that the Discourse was commissioned by Bancroft and finished during the holidays of 1597/8 (the same time as Orlando Inamorato and Two Tales). It contains brief autobiographical sketches of five popes (Sixtus V, Urban VII, Gregory XIV, Innocent IX, and Clement VIII) and of sixty-one cardinals. When he comments at length on papal history and speaks with authority on the practices of certain Roman cardinals in Satires 2, 3, and 7 of Ariosto's Satyres, Tofte

undoubtedly is relying on the knowledge of the Roman apostolate he gained during his travels in Italy and during the writing of the Discourse.

In spite of Tofte's productivity in 1597 and 1598, his literary career seems to have gone relatively unnoticed until 1599 when he translated Dello Ammogliarsi Piacevole Contesa Fra i due Moderni Tassi, Hercole, cioè, & Torquato (Bergamo, 1595). Of Mariage and Wiving. An Excellent, pleasant, and Philosophicall Controversie, betweene the two famous Tassi now living, the one Hercules the Philosopher, the other, Torquato the Poet. Done into English by R. T. Gentleman was entered in the Stationer's Register by Thomas Creede on March 6, 1599 and published in black letter quarto immediately thereafter.[22] On June 4, 1599 it was among the nine books burned at Stationer's Hall by the order of Bishop Whitgift and Tofte's friend Bishop Bancroft. The Bishops' Ban thrust Tofte into the mainstream of Elizabethan literature by assuring his book of a kind of notoriety.

Of Mariage is divided into two parts. Part one, which is preceded by a translation of the short dedicatory epistle from Ercole Tasso to Giovanni Battista Licino, is entitled "The Declamation of Hercules Tasso, a learned Philosopher, against Marriage or wedding of a Wife." The Declamation consists primarily of numerous quotations from Greek and Roman philosophers and Christian writers (particularly Saint Paul) which, in Ercole's estimation, argue against marriage. "Shall we then making no account of these grave examples, Counsels, and Experiences, wilfully runne into our owne daunger?" he asks (sig. C1). "Shall we with the foolish Sole, leape out of the panne into the fire?

Not so, I hope, if we love to keep our bones whole, our bodies in helth, and our selves in sound skinnes." He bases his argument against marriage on two reasons:

> First, for the base indignitie and corrupt wickedness of womens nature: and secondly, because so many mischiefs happen unto their husbands, through their overmuch selfe-wild folly, and too too peevish frowardness.
>
> (sig. $C2^{v}$-C3)

Ercole is an unmitigated misogynist who has very little good to say about women:

> Women . . . was created for Man, as witnesseth Saint Paul, and therefore imperfect and vile: as being not framed for any other respect or use, then for a Receptacle of some of our Excrementall humors: standing us in the same steed, as the Bladder, the Gaull, and such other uncleanly members of our bodie. . . . From whense then I marvel, can any pleasures or delight spring rightly from her?
>
> (sig. C3)

The Declamation concludes with six Latin epigrams (and their translations), all of which oppose marriage and deride women.

Part two, "A Defence or Answere unto the foresaid Declamation, written by that famous Poet and Orator, Torquato Tasso," is slightly more than half the length of part one. Torquato attempts to refute his cousin's argument by discrediting the testimony of the untrustworthy philosophers and espousing instead that of "most worthy Poets," particularly Dante. He also cites examples of contemporary women "who have so entirely affected their linked Mates, that not only they have exposed themselves unto divers mortal perils for their sakes, but have also most willingly offered their dearest blood as sacrifice to die with

them" (sig. $J4^{v}$). The Defence concludes with a prayer to Divine Matrimonie who "alone createst and makest Noble men upon the earth," and with a compliment, which does not appear in the Italian original, to the "famous English Queen":

> I finding my selfe far insufficient and unable to praise her, by reason of her royal qualities, and matchlesse vertues, they being like a soundlesse Ocean that hath no bottome, like unto an intricate labyrinth, wherein a man may sooner loose himselfe, then finde the end of the same any way.
>
> (sig. L2)

Of Mariage and Wiving was undoubtedly included in the Bishops' Ban because of the invective of part one. In fact, the order of 1 June 1599 condemning satires and epigrams identified it as "The booke againste women viz, of *marriage and wyvinge*."[23] Had the book been considered as a whole, however, it seems unlikely that the censors would have classed it with Marston's Scourge of Villanie, Guilpin's Skialethia, or the other six books named in the decree (Arber, III, 677). Torquato's "Answere" clearly succeeds in refuting Ercole's "Declamation," and the entire book undeniably supports Torquato's view of women and marriage. Tofte may not have held this opinion, though, because his interest in anti-feminist literature is well documented in his later works, especially in Satire 4 of Ariosto's Satyres and in The Blazon of Jealousie. Moreover, Tofte's misogynist tendencies may have interested him in translating a French document that was a classic statement of the anti-feminist perspective.

Les Quinze Joyes de Mariage, a French satire of the early fifteenth century, first appeared in English in 1603 as The Batchelars Banquet: or a banquet for batchelars.[24] The anonymous translation has

been usually attributed to Thomas Dekker, although F. P. Wilson has argued convincingly that Dekker "had no share in it" (p. xxv). Included among the books burnt at Stationer's Hall in 1599 was one called The xv joyes of marriage, which may have been an early version of The Batchelars Banquet. If it was, and if Tofte was indeed the translator, then he would share only with Marston the distinction of authoring two of the books condemned by the Bishops.

Like Of Mariage and Wiving, The Batchelars Banquet is a black letter quarto printed by Thomas Creede. It is divided into fifteen chapters, each of which describes a "humour" to which women are inclined. The woman "that strives to master her husband," for example, is afflicted with

> a generall imperfection of women, bee they never so honest, never so kindely used, and have never so much wealth and ease, to strive for the breeches, and bee in odde contrarie humours, of purpose to keepe her husband in continuall thought and care how to please her.
>
> (sig. $E3^{v}$)

A "humour" is often illustrated by a racy, colloquial dialogue between a woman suffering from that particular inclination and her husband who cannot tolerate her imperfection. The style of the dialogue first led commentators to attribute the book to Dekker.

Wilson tentatively attributes The Batchelars Banquet to Tofte because in the translator of Of Mariage and Wiving he found "a writer who was well suited in his tastes and accomplishments for the task of translating Les Quinze Joyes, and whose version of Dello Ammogliarsi

made about the same time is . . . remarkably similar to The Batchelars Banquet" (p. xxxv). The translator of Les Quinze Joyes employed a method of translating similar to that which has already been described as Tofte's. "The Englishman adds as well as amplifies," says Wilson; "perhaps we should call him an adapter rather than a translator" (p. xxi). Although the evidence is too slight to assign The Batchelars Banquet to the Tofte canon without reservation, the subject matter of the French original and the style and method of the English translation support Wilson's tentative attribution.

Following the publication of Ariosto's Satyres in 1608, Tofte's only verifiable published translation from French appeared in print. Honours Academie. Or the famous pastorall of the faire Shepheardesse, Julietta was published at London by Thomas Creede in 1610.[25] The title page advertises that the book is "A worke admirable, and rare, Sententious and grave: and no lesse profitable; then pleasant to peruse. Wherein are many notable Discourses, as well as Philosophicall, as Divine: Most part of the Seven Liberall Sciences, being comprehended therein: with divers Comicall, and Tragicall Histories, in Prose, and Verse of all sorts."

Honours Academie is without doubt Tofte's most ambitious effort, containing nearly 350 pages of text in a handsome folio edition. It is a complex and carefully prepared work, an industrious translation of Cinquiesme et Dernier Liure des Bergeries de Julliette, the fifth part of a long romance by Nicholas de Montreux published at Paris in 1598.[26] The book is dedicated to Lady Anne Herne, wife of Sir Edward Herne; she was

also one of the dedicatees of Alba. In both the dedication and the address to the reader, Tofte writes in rough pentamenter couplets, the verse form of Ariosto's Satyres. He seems to be concerned, particularly in addressing the reader, to justify the intellectual merit and the originality of his translation; he lashes out at the "sottish MULTITUDE,/ That saucie giddie-headed Monster rude./Who knowes not when ought well is, or amis,/Of shallowe shickle Braine, a token is." He protests that he has "never Marchant made" of his Muse, and he announces boldly that his book is intended for the "Learned": "to you, my Booke, and selfe I yeeld." Finally, he defends his translation against the charge that it lacks literary merit by attacking plagiarists, pirates, and hacks:

> Against such ydle Theeves, as doe purloyne,
> From others Minte, what's none of their own Coyne.
> These buz about, like Drones, and Beetles blinde,
> Whilst (in them) Hunnie none, but gaule you finde.
> Against these Cheaters, and their shifting rout,
> Vouchsafe your Cristall Shield for to hold out.

Honours Academie was written years before its publication in 1610. The copy was entered to Matthew Lownes on 2 April 1607 and assigned to Creede on 11 November 1609. The latter entry identifies the translator as "Jarvis Markam," whose name also appears on the title page of the 1608 edition of Ariosto's Satyres as the translator. Perhaps Tofte's address to the reader was intended to discredit Gervase Markham or whoever was responsible for Markham's being identified as the translator of two of Tofte's books.

If Creede's epistle to the reader is to be believed, Honours Academie was completed even before the date of its first entry in the Stationer's Register:

> This Booke hath beene kept from the Translator heerof a long time, since when (untill it was in a manner thoroughlie Printed) hee never had sight of it, and therefore could not possiblie peruse it over, as his desire was, meaning to have corrected, what you perhaps may finde amisse. Some faults (no doubt there be) especially in the Verses, and to speake truth, how could it be otherwise, when he wrote all this Volume, (as it were) Cursorily, and in hast: Never having so much leisure, as to overlooke one leaf, after he had scribbled out the same.

Williams believes that the translation was done before the death of Tofte's brother John in 1599 because of a reference in the verse dedication to Anne Herne: "Thanks I yeeld you, (the pay of younger Brother)" (p. 423). Regardless of the date of composition, a reading of Honours Academie does not support the claim that it was written "Cursorily, and in hast."

The most extensive study of Honours Academie has been done by Fox in Notes on William Shakespeare and Robert Tofte (pp. 26-40). Fox suggests that the shipwreck in Honours Academie (sig. $Rr4^{v}$ and following) resembles that in The Tempest, that the old magician in Tofte's translation bears a general resemblance to Prospero, and that a "Savage Satire" in Honours Academie (sig. Pp3), a monster-like creature who abducts the beautiful shepherdess Flora, resembles Caliban in appearance and behavior. The date of composition of The Tempest is not known, but a performance of the play is recorded for 1 November 1611. If it was written in the year before its first performance, Shakespeare was working on it after the publication of Honours Academie. Once again, specific support suggesting that Shakespeare knew something of Tofte's work is lacking; Fox does little more than to speculate that Honours Academie was a source for The Tempest.

Tofte's other translation from French, The Loves of Armide, survives in autograph copy in the Bodleian.[27] The exact date of this English version of Pierre Joulet's Les Amours d'Armide (published 1597) is not known. Williams posits that it was done between the deaths of Spenser and Harington (1599-1612) because of a reference in the preliminary verses (p. 423). These verses, reprinted here in part as they appear in Williams' article, are full of allusions to contemporary writers. Unhappily, Shakespeare is not mentioned:

	Here are no ranke, obscene, or lustfull wordes.
	This theame, no such Corruptiɒn base affords,
	These, ar no lines to pore upon for Clownes,
	No stile, or peasantes, gulls, or boorish Lownes,
	No triviall phrase, no MOONEDAIS Vaine here lur[kes,]
	These ar for HOLLIDAIS, and HIGHDAIS workes.
Sir Phill. Sydney	This had a Task bin for the Muses Heire,
	Devinest SIDNEY, (phoebus Swanne, moste faire;)
[S]ir John Harington	Or, for that HARE which RINGes through everie TOWNE
	In Joviall Veirse, sweet poesies Renowne,
Mr. Spenser.	Or for that Author, of the FAIRIE QUEENE
	Whose like, before or since, was never seene.
Samuell Daniel	For him, that Title beres of prophets twaine,
	And of a laurell poet, merits Name.
Micaell Drayton	And lastly, (thowgh not leste) with in my Har[t]
	Our English NASO should have plaide this [p]ar[t,]
	Who draweth pure Licor from the Muses Tun
	Which, from his Braine (Parnassus like) doth ru[n.]
	But since som of thes rarest Spirites be [dead,]
	And those (alive) ar (els where) busied,
	Vouchsafe, that I, the Meanest of them All,
	(Whose worthe (respect of theres) is very small [)]
	Of Yee, who Learned be, your pardon crave
	That I, this Labor undertaken have:

(p. 424)

In addition to Laura and Alba Tofte wrote two short original pieces, both of which he attributes to other authors, and both of which are appended to translations from Italian. Paged separately at the end of the 1611 edition of Ariosto's Satyres are

> Three most excellent Elegies written by that famous Poet, Lodovico Ariosto: the first uttred by Il Disgratiato, who through extreme rage pulled out his owne eyes: the second by Don Infelice, who with sorrow wept out his eyes: and the third by Disaventurato, who with a passion of madnesse, burnt out his eyes with the scorching heate of the sunne beames.[28]

No originals by Ariosto are known to exist, and when Tofte mentions the elegies in the epistle to the reader prefixed to The Blazon of Jealousie (1615), he gives no clear indication that they are translated from Ariosto:

> Courteous Reader, I had thought for thy better contentment, to have inserted (at the end of this booke) the disasterous fall of three noble Romane Gentlemen, overthrowne thorow Jealousie, in their Loves; but, the same was, (with Ariosto's Satyres translated by mee out of Italian into English Verse, and Notes upon the same) Printed without my consent or knowledge, in another mans name.
>
> (p. 63)

Williams believes that the elegies are Tofte's original compositions, which may have been adapted from some other Italian authors and erroneously attributed to Ariosto by the publisher (p. 418). In subject matter, style, expression, and in use of false rimes, the Three Elegies are strikingly similar to Laura and Alba and must assuredly be by Tofte.

Each elegy contains the lament of an unsuccessful lover who is physically blinded as a result of his jealousy. Each is written in couplets, the first in pentameter and the other two in tetrameter. Each follows the same tripartite pattern: the lover confesses his jealousy and describes the way in which he became blind; he describes

the physical characteristics of his lady in great detail; and in the end he reaffirms his faithfulness to his lady in spite of his consuming jealousy, her cruelty, and, most importantly of all, her infidelity.

The first elegy is the longest (358 lines) and the most conventional. The lover, "Il Disgratiato" (The Unfortunate One), discovers that the beautiful lady has been unfaithful to him and becomes exceedingly angry: "I wept and cride out so long/Against her shame, and mine injurious wrong,/That madde with rage I tore out of my head,/My hurtlesse hurting eyes which me mislead" (p. 3). In hopes that "her beauty bury her defame" he proceeds to describe her in precise detail: "painter like Ile trie if I can draw,/Her beauty to the life, observing law/Of pensill-pen proportion." What follows is a conventional topographical description of his mistress, from her "spacious forehead" (p. 4) to her "dainty dugges" (p. 5) to where "those wondrous fruits . . . are planted in so strong a land,/As seene or touch them neere hath eye or hand" (p. 6). Tofte signed himself "Il Disgratiato R. T. G." at the end of both Alba and Orlando Inamorato, and there is little reason to believe that this elegy of "The Unfortunate One" is not an original composition.

"Elegie II" contains the lament of "Don Infelice," whose purpose is made clear at the outset:

> Ile show why I am sicke and blinde,
> Though her disdaine is all unkinde.
> And thus my Swannes song I beginne,
> A solemne diergie for my sinne.
>
> (p. 10)

Having wept out his eyes with sorrow, he recalls the painful and yet pleasing sight of his beloved: "So cruell none, nor one so fayre,/As she then drives me to despaire" (p. 12). Not surprisingly, the lover's mistress is indistinguishable from her who had tormented Il Disgratiato or from any of the golden-haired, white-toothed, smooth-cheeked, rosy-lipped ladies of the Petrarchan convention.

The third elegy is the shortest (278 lines) and the most interesting of the three. The lover, "Disaventurato" (Unlucky), styles himself "a Martyr for pure love,/Who more then common plagues do prove" (p. 17). Because he pities others and wants to save them from his fate, he describes how he was "plagu'd" by his cruel mistress, whom he compares throughout to a temple. This sustained comparison adds immeasurably to the plain topographical description of the lady because it allows the poet to avoid the cliché-ridden language of the convention. On the other hand, the temple comparison engenders some problematical language of its own:

> Before this sacred Deity,
> Arabian incense plenteously,
> A rare and precious vessel throwes,
> Which was her straight and well form'd nose.
>
> (p. 21)

Taken as a whole, the Three Elegies are actually three versions of one poem or three illustrations of the same theme: it is useless to be jealous over women because they are always faithless and cruel.

Of some interest in the elegies are the twenty-four marginal notes, all of which are marked by * or ¶. For the most part they are uninspiring and dull. They explain mythological, historical, or

literary allusions that are not always clearly present to authenticate statements made in the poems. For example, a reference to Sisyphus in the text of the second elegy has the corresponding note: "*Sisiphys* is fained for his offences to live in hel, and continually to rowle a great stone up against a steepe mountaine, which stone tumbleth backe upon him as oft as he doth raise it upward" (p. 15). In the third elegy, Disaventurato explains:

> No wonder that I am a foole,
> Since all I learne is from loves schoole,
> ¶ His schoole which in this lab'rinth is,
> Where I am prisoned for my misse.
>
> (p. 23)

The accompanying note is not clearly or necessarily related to the text:

> There was in Creete an artificiall Labyrinth or Maze, with many thousand intricate passages, in which was held in prison the Minotaure, which Minotaure was conquered by *Theseus* King of Thebs, by assistance of his love *Ariadne*, as appeareth by *Ovid*, *Seneca*, and all other poets.

A seemingly uncomplicated reference in the first elegy to the mistress' "never-satisfied eyes" elicits the following note:

> The Italians do hold it for a maxime that it is onely the eye of a woman which is the true object of love, and that through a supernaturall power, the eye of the woman darteth into the eye of the man those beames of affection, which causeth the impatience of love, and so of the contrary the eye of the man sendeth downe by the eye unto the heart of the woman, those affections which are unquenchable and unresistable.
>
> (p. 2)

Tofte evidently prided himself on his annotations, as his editions of Ariosto's Satyres and The Blazon of Jealousie attest. His notes to the Three Elegies contribute little to the reader's appreciation of the

poems themselves, although they are often interesting specimens of unreliable or fabricated information about Italian customs and historical or literary allusions. They are obviously intended to stimulate interest in the poems by providing "factual" comments for the discerning and "learned" reader. More than anything else, Tofte's notes here, and in his two translations from Italian, tell something about his perceptions of his readership and his concepts of educated discourse.

Tofte's last published book, The Blazon of Jealousie, is perhaps the best known of the canon, though its fame rests not on the quality of the translation or the originality of the subject, but on the discursive annotations that fill its pages:

> Although Tofte's annotations are some of the most interesting in Elizabethan literature and may well lay claim to the doubtful honor of being predecessors of the modern, highly elaborated footnote, they are more than literary curiosities. Restricted by the conventionalities of the sonnet which he essayed in its decadence, forced by the very nature of his profession as a translator to project his personality only in the selection of subjects, Tofte turned to the annotations of his last translation as an outlet of his life long urge for auto-biography. The results are an interesting commentary on Elizabethan literature, significant examples of the Continental influences on English letters, and a Montaigne-like revelation of a man dominated by the passions of unrequited love.
>
> (Kahrl, p. 47)

In sixty-two pages of text Tofte incorporates eighty-eight notes numbered consecutively by letters of the alphabet. Some deal with Italian customs, some with Italian history, but most contain observations on Italian literature, including original translations of Bembo, Dante, Ariosto, Allemani, and Petrarch, quotations from classical poets,

particularly Ovid, and citations from and allusions to English poets of the Renaissance. There are sixteen passages from England's Parnassus, twenty-nine from Belvedere or The Garden of the Muses, and twenty-four from Wit's Commonwealth (Kahrl, pp. 56, 57, 60). In addition there are three specific references to his translation of Ariosto's Satyres and occasional observations on his personal experience with travel and with women. In general his annotations may be described as puerile and pedantic; they are written from the point of view of one who wishes to establish his competency as a literary arbiter and his reputation as a learned man.

The Blazon of Jealousie is Tofte's title for Lettura di M. Benedetto Varchi, sopra un Sonnetto Dell Gelosia di Mons. Della Casa (1545). The complete title page of his last book reads: The Blazon of Jealousie. A Subject not written of by any heretofore. First written in Italian, by that learned Gentleman Benedetto Varchi, sometimes Lord Chauncelor unto the Signorie of Venice: And Translated into English, with speciall Notes upon the same; by R. T. Gentleman.[29] It was entered by John Busby on 14 October 1614 and printed in London by T. Snodham in 1615. Also appearing on the title page is a stanza from the Orlando Furioso which deals with the subject of jealousy.[30] The book is dedicated "From my Lodging in Holborne, this 7. of November, 1614" to Sir Edward Dimmock, "Knight, the most worthy and generous Champion unto the Sacred Majestie of Great Britaine." It contains a verse epistle from Tofte "To The Judicious Understander: To the Ignorant Reader: and to the base Carper whatsoever" in which the poet pleads: "Judge (mildely) with sober Discretion then,/So shall you be like Angels, and

not Men." Tofte gives a translation of the original dedication by Varchi to the poetess Gaspara Stampa and provides short biographical sketches on Varchi and his publisher, Francesco Sansovino. There are three commendatory verses: a sonnet by "W. L."; "The Censure of a Friend" by "Ant. Mar."; and "To the Jealous Husband" by one "Il Incognito." None of the authors has been positively identified. The preliminary matter also includes a printer's apology, which Kahrl attributes to Tofte (p. 67):

> *Gentle Reader,* Linxes *sight was not so sharpe, but that now and then it over saw; and* Argus, *for all his hundred eyes, was over-taken in the end: Be one never so curious or carefull, yet may a man mistake. Some few faults have escaped in the Printing of this Booke, as in* fol. 34. *for* lusty *reade* lazy: *the rest I hope thine owne discretion will guide thee to correct. And so fare thou well.*

Varchi's Lettura was in many ways a perfect document for Tofte to "adapt" into English. A rambling philosophical discourse on the subject of jealousy, it masquerades as an explication essay on a della Casa sonnet. It is filled with references to Italian literature and to classical authors, providing Tofte with the raw material for his copious annotations. In The Blazon Tofte combined his interest in the sonnet, literary criticism, and didactic interpretation with his personal predisposition towards anti-feminist literature. "After a life . . . devoted to unmasking the wiles and deceits of women, lamenting the sorrows and devotion of men, it was only fitting that Tofte should crown his life's endeavors with a translation of Benedetto Varchi's address on della Casa's sonnet describing jealousy" (Kahrl, p. 49). The vigor with which he undertook the translation and the great care he

gave to the annotations indicate that Tofte considered The Blazon his final and most complete comment on the destructiveness of unrequited love and the pervasiveness of inconstancy among women.

Appended to The Blazon is an original composition entitled The Fruits of Jealousie, which like the Three Elegies is attributed to another author.[31] Probably written years before its publication in 1615, even as early as 1594 when Tofte returned from Italy, The Fruits is very much like Alba; it is a collection of short stanzas, each developing a different aspect or variation of the same theme. Grosart, Kahrl, and Williams believe that this poem is autobiographical, despite the disclaimer in the address to the reader that it was written by

> ...an English Gentleman, a *quondam* deare and neare friend of mine, who was so strangely possest with this Fiend JEALOUSIE, as (not many yeares since) through a meere fantasticque and conceited Suspicion, after hee had long enjoyed the friendship of a fayre Gentlewoman, he (on the sodaine) shooke her off, and utterly forsooke her, sending her (for his last farewell) this most bitter and unkinde LETTER following.

Each stanza of the poem develops a different aspect of the same theme, and the last line of each contains a sarcastic reference to the "Willow-Garland" given as a reward by the faithless lady to the constant lover. The tone of The Fruits is bitter:

> Yet th' appetite so bad now is
> As thou must take another Dish;
> Too long thou hast on ROBBINS fed,
> Now loath some are those Birds so RED;
> A PIG forsooth, now eat thou must
> Els lost will be thy wanton lust,
> Indeed, meat fit for such as thou,
> Thou feedest on thine owne kinde as now;

> On such like stuffe still mayst thou feede
> That still dost waver as a Reede,
> And mak'st me weare with griefe of minde,
> The *Willow-Garland* most unkinde.
>
> (Grosart, p. xxiii)

Whereas Laura and Alba present the persona of the Petrarchan lover in the conventional situation, The Fruits makes no pretense and seems bluntly autobiographical.

Although it was written many years before the translation of Varchi, as the style and language demonstrate, The Fruits of Jealousie is an appropriate companion-piece to The Blazon. If it is indeed an autobiographical poem disguised as a lover's lament, it is a fitting complement to Varchi's philosophical discourse, because in it Tofte confesses his own folly in the wasting of a real life given over to the power of jealousy. Varchi's address, on the other hand, describes the destruction of fictional lives and the demise of literary characters. In some ways The Fruits attempts in poetry what the annotations to The Blazon attempt in prose: to communicate Tofte's personal feelings on a subject of intense personal significance.

It is difficult to say with certainty that the "America" poem discussed earlier in this Introduction (p. 2) is Tofte's last work. If he did make a voyage to America, and if the poem is really based on the experience of a voyage, then this discussion of the canon could be brought to a more definitive conclusion than seems to be possible. A curious reference to a sea voyage in The Fruits of Jealousie deepens the mystery surrounding Tofte's supposed journey to the New World:

My Country England, fare thou well,
And lovely F. where I did dwell:
Deare Mother, I you bid Adieu,
Full little thinke you what Ile doe,
Full little thinke you what your Sonne,
Through youthfull Folly now hath done:
My sisters sweet, my Brethren all,
I wish you well, fayre yee befall:
My Friends and Quaintance every one,
Adieu to you, I must be gone;
My Ship from others you may know,
The *Willow-Garland* it doth show.

(Grosart, p. xxiii)

In this poem Grosart detects a statement of Tofte's intent to "go on the 'Indian Voyage to the Golden Country' -- visions of which Raleigh had flashed before English men" (p. xxiii). Is it possible that in the mid-1590's Tofte was anticipating a sea voyage to the New World that he was not able to take until shortly before his death? Unless the "America" can be precisely dated, and unless Tofte's voyage to the "Golden Country" can be positively proved,[32] The Blazon of Jealousie will remain the final entry in the literary canon of Robert Tofte, Gentleman.

Robert Tofte's Translation of *Ariosto's Satyres*

Of all the works in the Tofte canon, his translation of Ariosto's Satyres merits more critical attention than it has received. It is the first translation in any language of the first vernacular imitations of formal verse satire, and Ariosto is widely recognized as the foremost Italian satirist. Nevertheless, Tofte's translation remains largely unknown. Those who have written on it have not been overly enthusiastic. "It is a clumsy performance, very free, bordering at times on incoherence and forced frequently by the rime into infidelity," says Peter De Sa

Wiggins, the author of the only modern English translation of the Satires.[33] Robert Griffin, in his study of Ariosto for the Twayne World Authors Series, charges that Tofte "actually mistranslated some passages by inserting Horatian turns of phrase that the original text did not authorize. Even more significant, the autobiographical element was blurred in favor of a more universalized relevance . . . more in keeping with the developing nature of the Renaissance essay."[34] The principal commentators on Ariosto ignore Tofte's translation in their discussions of the Satires. Francesco De Sanctis, Benedetto Croce, J. A. Symonds, Edmund Gardner, and C. P. Brand, for example, are silent on the subject of the first English translation.[35] And Richard Hardin, whose five page article in Satire Newsletter is the longest published commentary on Tofte's book, concludes that "Tofte's contemporaries would probably never have read his translation had it not been for Ariosto's fame as the author of Orlando Furioso . . . . These satires were received in England as adjuncts to the poet's biography, containing incidental particulars about a culture which was, to many educated Englishmen, the most enlightened in Europe."[36] Only Alexander Grosart, with his usual benign point of view, has something kind to say: "There are good bits in these 'seven famous discourses,' and the versification is at once facile and faithful" (p. xvi).

Ariosto's Satyres was entered in the Stationer's Register by Roger Jackson[37] on 21 September 1608 as "*a President for Satirists or the Seven famous Satyres or Planettes* written by Master Ludovico Ariosto" (Arber, III, 390). It was published near the end of the

calendar year at London in a quarto text and printed by Nicholas Okes for Roger Jackson.[38] The title page of the 1608 edition reads: Ariosto's Satyres, in seven famous discourses, shewing the State, 1 Of the Court, and Courtiers. 2 Of Libertie, and the Clergie in generall. 3 Of the Romane Clergie. 4 Of Marriage. 5 Of Soldiers, Musitians, and Lovers. 6 Of Schoolmasters and Scholers. 7 Of Honour, and the happiest Life. *In English, by Garvis Markham.*[39] The existence of two copies dated 1609 indicates that sometime during the press run of the book, the printer apparently substituted the date 1609 on the title page, as was the common practice for books published near the end of the calendar year.[40] In 1611 William Stansby[41] printed another edition of the book for Jackson. The complete title page reads: Ariostos Seven Planets Governing Italie. Or His Satyrs in Seven Famous Discourses, shewing the estate 1. *Of the Court, and Courtiers.* 2. *Of Libertie, and the Clergy in general.* 3. *Of the Romane Clergie.* 4. *Of Marriage.* 5. *Of Soldiers, Musitians, and Lovers.* 6. *Of Schoolemasters and Schollers.* 7. *Of Honour, and the happiest life. Newly Corrected and Augmented with many excellent and* noteworthy Notes, together with a new Addition of three *most excellent Elegies, written by the same* Lodovico Ariosto, the effect whereof is contained in the Argument. *Qui te sui te sui.*[42] The augmentation consists of twenty-four additional annotations marked by a special siglum (§), and there are over thirty substantive variants in wording. The notes and corrections indicate that Tofte revised the 1611 edition, which was evidently printed directly from the 1608.

Because of the title-page ascription to Gervase Markham in the 1608 edition, some confusion over authorship of the book has resulted. One possible explanation for the incorrect attribution to Markham is that the manuscript of the book was stolen, a case that Williams argues (p. 417). A second possibility is that Markham's name was used to encourage sales of the book, as Grosart states: "Markham was a 'fine old English gentleman all of the olden time,' and a most industrious toiler with a vivid poetical faculty of his own; and I for one will be slow to believe that it was other than a Bookseller's trick that placed his popular name on this title-page -- never possibly himself" (pp. xv-xvi). A third possibility is that Tofte and Markham were acquaintances and that Markham was responsible for delivering the lost manuscript to the printer, who erroneously assigned the work to him. This theory finds some support in the publication history of Honours Academie, which was attributed to Markham in the notice of transfer recorded in the Stationer's Register in 1609; it was, as we have seen, properly attributed to Tofte when it appeared in print in 1610.

Whatever the cause of the incorrect attribution, Tofte was aware of it and commented on it in print. Three times in The Blazon of Jealousie he claims Ariosto's Satyres as his own:

> *Lodovicus Ariosto*, borne in *Rheggio*, a towne subject to the Dukedome of *Ferrara*, wrote that famous worke Orlando Furioso, in honour of Cardinall *Hipolito* d'Esta, his Lord and Master, (whom hee then followed), besides divers other Bookes, as his Comedies, Tragedies, and Satyres; which Satyres I translated into English Verse, with Notes upon the same; although, unknowne to mee, there were set forth in another mans name. . . .
>
> (p. 6)

> How jealous the Italians are of their owne neerest and dearest Acquaintance & kindred, for feare of their Wives, and how they use to watch them narrowly, read my *Ariostoes* Satyres in English. . . .
>
> (p. 28)

> the same [the *Three Elegies*] was, (with Ariosto's Satyres (translated by mee out of Italian into English Verse, and Notes upon the same) Printed without my consent or knowledge, in another mans name. . . .
>
> (p. 63)

While the evidence does not permit explanation of the faulty attribution to Markham in the 1608 edition, Tofte's authorship of the book is certain.

It is very unlikely that Gervase Markham translated Ariosto's Satyres. His only published work dealing with Ariosto, Ariosto's Conclusions of the Marriage of Rogero and Rodomontho (1598), reissued in 1608 as Rodomonth's Infernall, or the Divell Conquered, is a translation from Phillip de Portes' French discourse on the last canto of the Furioso. Markham's primary literary activity consisted of practical prose treatises on agriculture, horse-breeding, and horse-racing. Of the seventy-four entries attributed to him in the Short-Title Catalogue, all but twelve deal exclusively with husbandry and horsemanship. Known as "the earliest English hackney writer" (DNB, p. 1050), Markham acquired a reputation for reissuing unsold copies of old books under new titles and for writing several books on the same subject. Nothing in Markham's published canon resembles the style, form, or content of Ariosto's Satyres, and his authorship of the book would appear highly improbable.

Finally, stylistic evidence argues for Tofte's authorship. The decasyllabic couplets contain numerous examples of the rime peculiarity noted by Williams. Tofte's nickname "Robin Redbreast" is incorporated into the text of Satire 3, along with an obvious personal reference:

> The Robin red-breast rob'd of libertie,
> Growes sad and dies with inward melancholy.
>
> (11. 61-62)

And the tone of the translation in Satire 4, Ariosto's epistle to his cousin on the choice of a suitable wife, resembles the tone in Of Mariage and Wiving, Laura, Alba, and those many passages in the accepted canon where the poet shows "how hard a matter it is for a man to keepe his wife honest and chast" (The Argument, Satire 4). In all probability Ariosto's Satyres is the work of Robert Tofte.

Both editions of the book prefix an unsigned epistle "To the Reader" which praises Ariosto, the activity of translating, and the translator of this particular work. Ariosto, the epistle tells us, "had his education with the learned, his living among the greatest concourse of people, and his life unreproveable." The activity of translating is extolled as the natural inclination of the "vertuous," who "with their owne, having alwaies regard to an others good, do painfully bestow houres, daies, and yeares, to make that easie to others, which they with great labour have obtained." A translator, therefore, should be received as a "man of experience, which hath learning and wisedome," from whom readers "mayest bee sure to receive good instruction." And the translator of Ariosto's Satyres deserves special thanks

and praise: "Be thankful first to God, then to the author, and lastly to thy Country-man, who for thy sake, without any other recompense, hath taken the paines in most exquisite manner, to be thy interpreter."

Both editions also contain a prose "argument of the whole worke, and the reasons why *Lodovico Ariosto* writ these Seaven Satyres." This too is unsigned, although Tofte is probably the author. For the biographical details in the "argument" and throughout the annotations to the seven satires, Tofte borrows heavily from Harington's "Life of Ariosto" (McNulty, pp. 569-72). In fact, whole passages from Harington's biography form the basis of Tofte's comments.[43] According to Tofte, Ariosto's Satires were "grounded upon . . . five principles or discontentments," that is, personal crises in his life that compelled him to write. The seven satires, "so much renowned and esteemed amongst all the Italians," resulted from Ariosto's "discontentment" with: 1) his first employer and patron, Cardinal Ippolito d' Este; 2) two Medici popes, Leo X and Clement VII; 3) his familial responsibilities after the death of his father; 4) his being "galled with the love of women"; and 5) his dissatisfaction over being appointed commissioner of Garfagnana, a province in the mountains of northern Italy. Ariosto's biographers, from Simone Fornari in the sixteenth century to Michele Catalano in the twentieth,[44] have indeed identified the poet's difficulties with the Este, the Medici, his family, his marriage, and his financial condition as major factors affecting his life and art. Fairly accurate and mildly informative, the "argument" identifies the major biographical events in the life of Ariosto.

Perhaps the most interesting information in both the epistle and the "argument" deals with the topic of satire itself. The author of the epistle, for example, seems to make the same assumptions about the writing of satire as were made by Horace; he describes the effect of the satiric composition on its readers in Horatian terms:

> Whosoever thou art, I dare assume thee, thou mayest in this discourse (as in a glasse) see thy present estate, and so not misse to judge rightly of thy end. In reading thou shalt finde pleasure, both in the matter and forme; by considering thou shalt be able to instruct thy selfe and others; but by practising as thou ought, thou shalt finde setled happinesse. Let the example of others be thy instruction, to flie that evill which hath bin their overthrow; and to embrace that good which was their advancement.

Horace's purpose in writing satire is moral, pedagogic, and corrective. Like Lucilius before him, Horace attacks the vicious by exposing their pretense to virtue:

> When Lucilius, first to compose poems of this kind, dared to strip the skins from those who dazzled all the men they walked among, though filthy underneath, did Laelius or the great man who well deserved the name he took from Carthage dislike his wit? . . . Whatever I am, no matter how inferior to Lucilius in talent and in rank, I too have lived among the great, as envy must admit.[45]

Satire attacks vice by attacking individual examples of vice, showing the evil "which hath bin their overthrow":

> Eupolis, Cratinus, Aristophanes -- those poets, and the others who shared in creating Old Comedy, would expose anyone who deserved it -- a slimy thief, an adulterer, a killer, someone made notorious for other crimes -- by showing him plainly on the stage.
>
> (Satires, I.4.1-5)

By exposing the folly of running to extremes, defending plain and honest living, and writing moral instruction without affectation, Horace established the form of the genre of satire. Horatian satire, because it is of a conversational nature, aims to instruct by ridicule and laughter, by example and insinuation, rather than by invective and exhortation: "But tell me what law is violated if someone laughs/ while speaking truth?" (Satires, I.1.25-25).

The statement in Tofte's epistle to the reader is wholly consonant with the Horatian tradition and with the view of satire expressed by Elizabethan critics. For George Puttenham, satire "desired by good admonitions to reforme the evill of their [i.e., man's] life, and to bring the bad to amendment."[46] For Philip Sidney, the satiric poet "never leaveth until hee make a man laugh at folly, and, at length ashamed, to laugh at himselfe; which he cannot avoyd, without avoyding the follie."[47] This view of satire is also seen in the works of the Elizabethan satirists themselves, who attempted to write satire which, like Horace's, aimed at "mirroring 'real' life in 'real' language at the level of ordinary events."[48]

Most English satirists of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries knew of the Horatian tradition and its emphasis on the pedagogic and the corrective, but they also knew of and were attracted to the biting invective of the Juvenalian model or the milder but still vituperative method adopted by Persius. In the "argument" Tofte espouses a view of satire that is in part Juvenalian. His analysis of Ariosto's motives in writing the Satires, for example, bears

some resemblance to the comments given by Thomas Drant in one of the earliest printed definitions of satire in English:

> those that will them write,
> With taunting gyrds, & glikes, & gibes must bere the lewde,
> Strayne curtesy, ne recke of mortall spyte.
> Shrowded in mosse, not shrynkyng for a shower,
> Deming of mosse as of a regall bower.
> Satyre of writhled waspysh Saturne may be namde,
> The Satyrist must be a waspe in moode,
> Testie and wrothe with vice and hers, to see both blamde,
> But courteous and frendly to the good.
> As Saturne cuttes of tyme with equall sythe:
> So this man cuttes down synne to coy, and blythe.[49]

By arguing that Ariosto's "discontentment," or in Drant's terms, his "waspish mood," caused him to write satire, Tofte is in general agreement with Drant's opinion that the satirist is inherently testy and saturnine. Juvenal found that "it is harder not to be writing satires."[50] Drant and Tofte found that the satirist's individual melancholy becomes his motive for writing satire. Therefore, the "argument" attempts to explain the state of mind that compelled the author of the famous Orlando Furioso to compose satires.[51]

In other ways, though, the "argument" expresses a view of satire that lies well within the parameters of the Horatian tradition. As it touches on the relationship between the author of satire and the satirist figure, Tofte's discourse shows, to his credit, that he understood that Ariosto's Satires imitated Horace in form and content. For the principle Elizabethan satirists like Hall and Marston, the figure of the satirist is defined by its likeness to what they understood as a "satyr" personality: "harsh, honest, frank, and filled with indignation at the sight of the evil world where fools and villains

prosper by masquerading as virtuous men" (Kernan, p. 116). If most Elizabethans saw the primary relation of satire to its goal and not to its author, as Alvin Kernan suggests (p. 139), Tofte was not among them. In the "Prologue" to the first book of the Virgidimae (1597/8) Joseph Hall gives the "standard" Elizabethan position on the goal of satire and adopts the usual persona of the satyr personality who dares to speak out:

> I first adventure, with fool-hardie might
> To tread the steps of perilous despight:
> I first adventure: follow me who list,
> And be the second English Satyrist.
> Envie waits on my backe, Truth on my side:
> Goe daring Muse on with thy thanklesse taske,
> And do the ugly face of vice unmaske:
> And if thou canst not thine high flight remit,
> So as it mought a lowly Satyre fit,
> Let lowly Satyres rise aloft to thee:
> Truth be thy speed, and truth thy Patron bee.[52]

Like Hall, John Marston adopted a persona in The Scourge of Villanie (1599):

> I will not deny there is a seemely decorum to be observed, and a peculiar kinde of speech for a Satyres lips, which I can willinglier conceave, then dare to prescribe; yet let me have the substance rough, not the shadow. I cannot, nay I will not delude your sight with mists; . . . He that thinks worse of my rimes then my selfe, I scorn him, for he cannot, he that thinks better, is a foole.[53]

Marston's Kinsayder is quite representative of the Elizabethan satyr-satirist, who sees himself as a "barber-surgeon."[54]

Tofte seems to have seen the primary relation of satire to its author; in the "argument" he makes no distinction between Ariosto as author of the Satires and Ariosto as the persona of the Satires.

Judging from the popularity of the satiric method employed by Marston, Hall, and the other English satirists in the mainstream, most Elizabethans must have believed that "satire is not a form of biography or social history but an artistic construct, the parts of which -- scene, satirist, and plot -- are to be understood in terms of their function in the satiric poem" (Kernan, p. 250). Based on the views expressed in the "argument," Tofte must have believed that satire, and in particular the Satires of Ariosto, could be seen as a type of autobiography in which the author, disturbed by events in his own personal life, exposes the faults of the vicious to make himself feel better and to instruct the virtuous on avoiding those grievous faults. In sum, Tofte read Ariosto in the same way that he and his contemporaries read Horace, whose satires and epistles emphasized the plain style and the laughing rebuke of a personal voice. From Juvenal and Persius they adopted an oratorical style and a public voice, but they admired and imitated Horace for his urbane wit. And Tofte, who interprets Ariosto's motive for writing satire as the gentle rebuke of a discontented man, properly places Ariosto's Satires within the Horatian tradition to which they are so heavily indebted.

The Horatian influence on Ariosto's Satires, which Tofte appears to acknowledge in the epistle to the reader and in the "argument," did not prevent him from translating the Satires as though they were autobiographical documents rather than literary constructs. In fact, his translation and the accompanying annotations often stray from the Italian text for the purpose of accentuating an event in Ariosto's

personal life. In some cases Tofte goes out of his way to emphasize what he assumed to be real autobiographical detail. In Satire 1, for example, Ariosto complains of not eating well when he is not at court. The irony of his complaint lies in the fact that he claims he is happy to be free of court restraints while at the same time he laments the unsatisfactory conditions of his private lodging:

> Io me riduco al pane; e quindi freme
> la colera; cagion che a li dui motti
> gli amici et io siamo a contesa insieme.[55]

("So I reduce my diet to bread, and anger rumbles forth, and quarrels ensue between myself and my friends over every two words," Wiggins, p. 11). Tofte's translation of this tercet emphasizes what he imagines to be Ariosto's real personal condition:

> Hence comes it, oft I feed on bread alone,
> Which breedes in me the chollicke and the stone.
> Hence I live private, hence I am subject much,
> To choler, and to every peevish tuch:
> Fretting and fuming with such peevishnesse,
> That in my best friends, I leave doubtfulnesse.
>
> (11. 129-34)

The accompanying note re-emphasizes the biographical detail and expands on it:

> *Ariosto* by nature was very cholerick, to be moved for any small trifle, as may appeare by the breaking of the Potters pots, which is spoken of in the story of his life.

The incident to which Tofte refers is found in Harington's "Life" (McNulty, pp. 575-76). Ariosto reportedly broke a number of pots in a potter's stall because he heard the potter misquoting some lines from the Orlando Furioso. Tofte's annotation clearly shows that he read and translated the Satires for their value as adjuncts to the poet's

biography. "The most valuable lesson he [Ariosto] learned from Horace," David Marsh writes, "was the impulse to literary revelation of the self which he gleaned from the Satires and Epistles and fused in his own creation of epistolary satire."[56] Tofte's translation does not indicate that he saw in the Satires any kind of literary revelation of the self.

Ariosto wrote the seven epistles that comprise the Satires between 1517 and 1525. They were never published during his lifetime, although there is evidence that he corrected the manuscript in preparation for publication. The publication history of the Satires is well known and need not be discussed here.[57] But it is important to note that by the time Tofte visited Italy in the 1590's, three separate editions of varying degrees of authority and numerous reprints of those editions had been issued. The *editio princeps* of 1534, a clandestine edition by Francesco Rossa da Valenza, was printed eleven months after Ariosto's death. It underwent fifteen reprints by 1550 when the second edition, that by Gabriel Gioloto, appeared. The latter text is the most authoritative because it is based on the manuscript, which contains more than two hundred corrections in Ariosto's hand, now in the Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea in Ferrara. The first edition is based on an earlier manuscript, which is now lost. In 1554 Girolamo Ruscelli republished an edition that followed the text of the first edition. Between 1554 and 1716 only expurgated editions were issued, none of which gained a wide circulation.

It is difficult to say with certainty which edition Tofte used for his translation or to rule out the possibility that he consulted

the Ferrarese manuscript. His ordering of the seven epistles, which is different from all published editions and from the manuscript, does not help to identify his working text. The 1534 edition presents the seven poems in the order given in most modern editions, except that Satire 1 (to Alessandro Ariosto and Ludovico da Bagno) and Satire 5 (to Annibale Malaguzzi) are interchanged. The more authoritative text of 1550 reproduces the order of the Ferrarese manuscript, an ordering that is now accepted as Ariosto's. Tofte follows the sequence of the 1550 edition and the manuscript but reverses the position of Satire 4 (to Sigismondo Malaguzzi) and Satire 5. This ordering is unique among editions of the Satires; barring the possibility of a publisher's error, it may be accounted for by Tofte's interest in the content of Satire 5: advice on the choice of a suitable wife. By placing Satire 5 in the crucial medial position as the fourth epistle, Tofte seems to have intended to focus his readers' attention on that particular satire. Indeed, it is very likely that he translated all of Ariosto's satires because the subject matter of Satire 5 most interested him. The length of the translation of Satire 5 (634 lines) and the number and detail of the annotations support the contention that Ariosto's epistle on choosing a wife was for Tofte the most important of the collection. Although the evidence is inconclusive, it is reasonable to assume that Tofte relied on the authoritative edition of 1550 as the Italian text from which he translated Ariosto's Satires into English.

Besides departing from the Italian text to emphasize or expand on elements from Ariosto's biography or to avoid troublesome or obscure

allusions, Tofte deviates from his copy to incorporate his own commentary. However, he does not indicate to the reader when he is amplifying the text. His amplifications are of five basic types: lengthy narrative tales; classical and literary allusions; proverbs; brief statements of moral sententiae; and expository passages that restate or place particular emphasis on Ariosto's meaning.

Each of the narrative tales Tofte adds to the Italian text supplies moral commentary on an issue raised by Ariosto. The tale of the Neapolitan cavalier and his unhappy servant in Satire 2 (11. 457-534) comments on abuses in the social system which Ariosto barely mentions. To amplify Ariosto's attack on the Roman clergy in Satire 3, Tofte appends the tale of William Rufus and the humble monk who would not be bribed by ecclesiastical benefices (11. 511-48). The tale of the ignorant Spaniard that concludes Satire 6 (11. 369-450) illustrates the ineptitude of pedants against whom Ariosto inveighs. And the story of Francis I of France and the old man who never left Paris in Satire 7 (11. 249-94) is intended to emphasize the virtues of the quiet life, which Ariosto praises throughout the Satires. Also incorporated into Tofte's text are a number of classical and literary allusions not found in the original: Timon (1.104), Cerberus (2.129-30), Aeson (4.78), Chaucer (4.613-18), and Aesop (5.79-86). Proverbs frequently are added to call attention to noteworthy passages: 4.67-68, 85-86, 195-98; 5.395-96; 6.86. And brief statements of moral sententiae comment on the worth or validity of Ariosto's message: 2.147-50; 4.257-60, 331-34; 5.379-80; 6.185-86; 7.23-24. Some additions to the Italian are best

described as expository because they explain the significance or import of Ariosto's lines: 1.145-48; 3.549-64; 4.619-34; 6.219-20; 7.303-8, 343-72.

Tofte's many additions always amplify, expand, or explain the didactic elements present in the original text. In only two instances do his additions attempt to make Ariosto's satire relevant to an English audience: an attack on the Roman clergy from a Protestant perspective (4.39-46), and an attack on Puritans from a similar point of view (4.345-66). For the most part, when Tofte departs from the Italian his intention is to insert into Ariosto's text some rather straight-forward and stern moral commentary.

The final example of Tofte's additions to the Italian text is his inclusion of an "argument" prefixed to each satire. These brief prose passages do much more than summarize the content of each epistle; they offer moralistic interpretations designed to dictate the reader's response to the poems. In most cases they identify what is for Tofte the principal didactic intention of each satire. Ariosto writes his first satire to his brother Alessandro and his friend Ludovico da Bagno to solicit information from them regarding Cardinal Ippolito's opinion of him since he refused to follow the cardinal into Hungary. Tofte claims in the argument to Satire 1 that Ariosto "sheweth what qualities such men ought to have, who goe about to purchase credit and wealth in the Court of Princes." In Satire 3 Ariosto describes the difficulty of serving in the court of Duke Alfonso d' Este and of the improbability that the Medici pope, Leo X, would reward him because of their long

friendship. Tofte's argument explains the purpose of the satire as showing "the discontentments that arise by gathering together of riches." Ariosto's ironic advice to his cousin Annibale Malaguzzi on the subject of marriage in Satire 4 is advertised as if it were a treatise on choosing a wife: "He sheweth that it is good and necessary to marry, and yet by the way glaunceth merily at that state of life, shewing how hard a matter it is for a man to keep his wife honest and chast." In Satire 5 Ariosto gracefully muses on the "golden days" of his career and on his sadness at being separated from the city and the woman he loved while he was commissioner at Garfagnana. According to the argument the purpose of the fifth satire is to show "that to be a lover is the greatest fault and greatest absurdity that any man can commit." The seventh epistle is addressed to Bonaventura Pistofilo, secretary to Duke Alfonso. In it Ariosto declines the Duke's offer to serve as ambassador to the court of the new pope, Clement VII, ironically arguing that he has all the wealth and honor he can handle. Tofte says that the satire "sheweth that honours change manners."

In each of the arguments the reader is presented with an interpretation of the satire's meaning. These interpretations invariably suggest that Ariosto's purpose is to prescribe acceptable moral behavior, and Tofte wants to make sure that the reader understands the moral message. Besides showing another way in which Tofte adds to the Italian text in his translation, the prose arguments prefixed to each of the satires demonstrate again that he read and translated Ariosto with a specific goal in mind: to explain the moral significance of the auto-biography of a famous Italian poet to an English audience.

Ariosto's Satires are written in 1837 lines of *terza rima*. Tofte's translation contains 3558 lines of mostly pentameter couplets. The length of the translation is due to the many additions Tofte makes to the original and to his use of the couplet form. One satire is more than twice as long as its Italian counterpart (Satire 7: 181 lines in Italian, 372 in English), and the other six are similarly expanded: Satire 1 (265, 418), Satire 2 (271, 534), Satire 3 (313, 564), Satire 4 (328, 634), Satire 5 (232, 380), and Satire 6 (247, 456). One tercet in Italian usually becomes two couplets in English. For example, the opening address to Pietro Bembo in Satire 6 reads in Italian:

> Bembo, io vorrei, come è il commun disio
> de' colliciti padri, veder l'arti
> che essaltan l'uom, tutte in Virginio mio; . . .
>
> (11. 1-3)

("Bembo, in keeping with the usual desire of attentive fathers, I would like to see in my Virginio all the arts that enoble a man" Wiggins, p. 153). In Tofte's translation the corresponding lines read:

> *Bembo*, I nothing covet or require,
> (Though tis the careful parents strong desire)
> So much as I might my *Virginio* see,
> Rarely instructed in Philosophie. . . .
>
> (11. 1-4)

Frequently, however, one tercet becomes six lines:

> Se Nicoletto o fra Martin fan segno
> d' infedele o d' eretico, ne accuso
> il saper troppo, e men con lor mi sdegno; . . .
>
> (6.43-45)

("If Nicoletto and Brother Martin show signs of unbelief or heresy, I accuse their excessive knowledge and am less angry with them" Wiggins, p. 155).

> If *Nicoletto* preaching holy writ,
> Or famous *Martin* with his learned wit:
> Suspected be of infidelity,
> Or if they chaunce to hold strong heresie:
> There too much knowledge I accuse thereof,
> Nor will I angry be thereat or scoffe, . . .
>
> (6.55-60)

The difficulty of rendering *terza rima* into English verse necessitated Tofte's choosing a verse form that allowed for a definite rime scheme but did not require the large number of riming words needed to produce interlocking tercets. The decasyllabic couplet, used by Elizabethan satirists like Donne, Lodge, and Hall as the equivalent of the Latin hexameter or the Italian *terza rima*, was the logical choice. Tofte's lines are not always decasyllabic, nor, as we have seen, are his rimes always pure, but his translation represents a sustained effort to render Ariosto's Satires into an accepted English verse form.

The 191 discursive annotations that fill the pages of Tofte's translation require some comment. While Grosart calls them "matterful" (p. xvi), and Williams describes them as "factual, dealing with Italian geography, biography, literature, and customs" (p. 417), Kahrl labels them "learned and uninspired" (p. 50). Tofte's practice of annotating reveals a great deal about his knowledge of Italian literature and history, or his lack of it. Far from being "factual" or "learned" Tofte's notes provide the reader with basic or commonplace information

on Ariosto and his Italy, some accurate historical data that are almost always plagiarized from well-known sources, oftentimes incomplete, inaccurate, or deliberately falsified explanations of the text or spurious identifications of people and places, and moralistic commentary in the form of narrative tales, sententious sayings, and proverbs.

Those annotations dealing with Italian geography and customs and Ariosto's personal life contain essentially stock descriptions or commonplace details which add very little to the reader's understanding of or appreciation of the text. Many simply summarize passages from the text of the satires or repeat information that is found there (1.211, note i). Others offer vague criticisms of Italiam customs or make derogatory comments about Italian manners (3.33, note §). In only a few cases is the reader presented with specific and helpful commentary, as in the note on Pietro Aretino and his famous epitaph (6.132, note h). For explanations of allusions to Ariosto's biography Tofte relies, as has been noted, almost exclusively on Harington's "Life," in which he found information on Ariosto's mistresses and wife (4.147, note h; 6.3, note b), his family (1.319, note q), his household (2.20, note d) and his personal idiosyncrasies (5.32, note d).

Perhaps the largest class of annotations deals with historical matters and identification of Italian political and religious figures. Tofte's primary source for these notes was the Storia d' Italia by Francesco Guicciardini, published for the first time in 1561.[58] To explain Ariosto's references to the Medici, Florentine and Ferrarese political leaders, the Estensi, and in general to any aspect of Italian

history in the quattrocentro or the cinquecento, Tofte borrowed extensively from Guicciardini (5.11, note t; 7.3, note b; 7.15, note c). He also "borrows" part of a stanza from Harington's translation of the Orlando Furioso (4.451, note x) without acknowledgement. There is very little in these historical annotations that cannot be found in Guicciardini's Storia, the biographical sketch of Bonaventura Pistofilo being the most notable example (7.351, note n).

When he found himself unable to identify specific references or obscure allusions in Ariosto's text, Tofte frequently fabricated suitable explanations. Those annotations containing incorrect or misleading information often exhibit a sense of imagination and humor otherwise lacking. In Satire 1 Ariosto names Francesco de Siver, the "spenditore" for Ippolito's court who was in charge of daily acquisition of foodstuffs. Tofte identifies him as "one of the greatest landed men in Ferara, whose father maried the base daughter of *Borzo*, sometime Duke of that City, by whom he had a mightie Masse of treasure" (1.117, note d). Borzo d' Este, the first Duke of Ferrara, had no children. And Francesco de Siver was a court servant. Tofte's note is pure fiction but sounds very convincing. When Ariosto refers to the star Arcturus of the constellation Boötes in Satire 1, Tofte is stumped again. So he annotates the reference with a most reasonable and cogent explanation: "He alludeth a certaing signe in Rome, where a man is painted, waiting and attending on a Beare" (1.159, note o). Another imaginative annotation occurs in Satire 5. Ariosto mentions the *Marzocco*, the heraldric emblem of the city of Florence, when he alludes to the

political allegiances of the people of Garfagnana, who were at various times under the dominions of Ferrara and Florence. Apparently thinking that *Marzocco* was the name of a rebel leader in Garfagnana, Tofte annotates the reference with a detailed explanation of the role of one "Marzoccus" in persuading the people of Garfagnana to submit to the authority of the dukedom of Ferrara (1. 305, note o). Although these and other annotations contain false, misleading, or incomplete identifications, they provide an important clue to the extent of Tofte's knowledge of Italian history and of Ariosto's life and work.

Finally, some of the notes contain moralizing tales, sententious sayings, or proverbs. In Satire 2 Tofte tells the story of an impudent cardinal who would not be disturbed at his dinner even if Christ himself were calling at the door (1. 135, note m). In Satire 4 he narrates two tales: a clever maltman outfoxes his subtle wife (1. 549, note b); a Venetian nobleman devises a chastity belt for his beautiful but unfaithful wife (1. 617, note d). And in Satire 6 he explains the meaning of the term "Peccadillos di Spagna" with a lengthy note regarding the atheistic tendencies of Spaniards (1. 37, note c). In some cases he glosses the text with annotations that consist of English and Italian proverbs or sententious sayings and aphorisms (4.283, note m; 4.295, note n; 4.485, note y; 4.627, note f; 7.79, note g; 7.85, note i). Tofte seems to have delighted in providing moralistic commentary, as the care with which these annotations were prepared indicates.

In summary, Robert Tofte's translation of Ariosto's Satires capitalized on the popularity of Italian literature in seventeenth-century

England. In the text of the translation itself and in the copious annotations that fill the pages of Ariosto's Satyres, Tofte attempted to adapt the Italian original to an audience he assumed to be more interested in Ariosto's biography and Italian customs than in a faithful, clear translation of what Ariosto actually wrote. Because he read the Satires as adjuncts to the Italian poet's biography, Tofte frequently modified the sense of the original to expand on biographical detail. The annotations also are very concerned with elucidating elements of Ariosto's personal life and individual characteristics. Tofte's efforts may have gone largely unnoticed in seventeenth-century England because the popular mode for satire was Juvenalian and not Horatian. Nevertheless, his book remains the first English translation of the first vernacular imitations of formal verse satire written by the foremost Italian satirist. In its own small way, therefore, Ariosto's Satyres will always share the spotlight with its famous Italian counterpart, although the names of Robert Tofte and Ludovico Ariosto may justifiably never be yoked.

The Text of This Edition

Treatment of the Copy-text

The copy-text for this edition is the 1608 edition (A) from which another edition of 1611 (B) is clearly derived. A photocopy of the exemplar of A in the Henry E. Huntington Library has been collated with a photocopy of the exemplar of B in that library. The 1611 edition does give some slight evidence of authorial revision; any substantive

revision for which, in my opinion, Tofte was responsible has been incorporated into this edition and has been noted in the lists of "Emendations of Substantives" in the Textual Notes. Annotations which appear only in B have been accepted as authorial revisions and have been incorporated into this edition. Following the practice of B, they are inserted into the text proper and identified by the use of a special siglum (§). I have not collated for press variants.

Emendations of substantive variants have been made in an attempt to restore conjectured readings of the lost manuscript and have been recorded in the lists of "Emendations of Substantives" in the Textual Notes. The accidentals of the copy-text have been reproduced. Obvious errors in accidentals resulting from compositors' inadvertencies (omissions, eye-skip, misreadings, metatheses) have been emended, and the emendations have been recorded in the lists of "Emendations of Accidentals" in the Textual Notes. The punctuation of the copy-text has been altered as little as possible. To avoid the complications which result from attempting to distinguish between punctuation variants which are properly termed accidental and those that may be called semi-substantive, I have treated punctuations variants separately. Emendations of punctuation have been made only when compositorial error has been deduced, or when the pointing seemed wrong or unusually misleading. Alterations in the punctuation of the copy-text have been recorded in the lists of "Emendations of Punctuation" in the Textual Notes. No attempt has been made to correct errors which have been identified as Tofte's, although the Explanatory Notes call the readers' attention to such errors.

Typographical Conventions and Silent Alterations

The use of type styles in the copy text has been retained with the following exceptions: ligatures and variations in the size of type have been ignored; no attempt has been made to reproduce display capitals, ornamental initials, ornaments, or printer's marks. The long s is modernized, and the modern usage of u/v and j/i has been followed. Standard abbreviations, contractions, and misplaced apostrophes of the copy-text have been retained. Variant uses of the inverted comma for emphasis have been regularized so that the marks appear at the beginning of the line for which they are intended. Tilde have been silently expanded, and line numbers for the text have been added.

Form of the Edition

In the text proper of the edition Tofte's annotations are placed immediately below the text-page and are indicated by superscript letters (following the practice of A and B). The Explanatory Notes, which are indicated in the text proper by superscript numbers, attempt to identify Tofte's sources and allusions, to comment on the accuracy of his translation and the veracity of his annotations, and to identify his additions to and/or deletions from the Italian text. When necessary I have cited relevant passages from the Italian text and have provided a modern English translation of those passages. All citations to Ariosto are from Segre's edition; the modern English translation is that of Wiggins.

In the Textual Notes four lists for each of the seven satires, and when necessary for the prefatory matter, have been provided:

(1) a list of "Emendations of Substantives"; (2) a list of "Emendations of Accidentals"; (3) a list of "Emendations of Punctuation"; and (4) a list of rejected substantive variants found in B. The form of the collation has been adapted from that used by Fredson Bowers in his edition of The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker (Cambridge, 1953). If a copy-text reading has been altered, the source of the emendation is given immediately following the square bracket. Thus the note

178 *Italian*] B; *Italy* A

means that in line 178, the word "Italian," which appears in B, has been incorporated into the text of this edition in place of the word "Italy," which is found in the copy-text. I have used the phrase "this edn." to indicate that a given emendation is my own. The shorthand symbols used by McKerrow and by Bowers have been used in this edition. The wavy dash (~) in the list of "Emendations of Punctuation" takes the place of the unchanged repeated word. The inferior caret (‸) indicates the absence of pointing in the edition specified. Thus the note

178 *Italian*‸] B; ~. A

means that in line 178, the period following the word "Italian" in the copy-text does not appear in B or in this edition. For references to Tofte's annotations in the collation, I have given the line number in the text proper to which Tofte's note appears, the note number, the line number in the note, and then the lemma. Thus the note

178:r.5 *Italian*] this edn.; *Italy* AB

means that the word "Italian" in line 5 of note r to line 178 is my emendation of the word "Italy," which appears in both A and B.

The Glossary contains definitions of obsolete or archaic words. The OED is the source for all definitions unless otherwise specified.

Notes to the Introduction

1. Franklin B. Williams, "Robert Tofte," Review of English Studies, 13 (1957), 291.
2. Before Williams' article in 1937, brief accounts of aspects of Tofte's biography appeared in six works: John Payne Collier, A Bibliographical and Critical Account of the Rarest Books in the English Language (London, 1865), II, 434-39; Alexander Grosart, ed., Alba. The Monthes Minde of a Melancholy Lover (Manchester, 1880), pp. v-lxix; Robert E. Graves, "Robert Tofte," DNB (London, 1898), xix, 916-17; F. P. Wilson, ed., The Batchelars Banquet: An Elizabethan Translation of "Les Quinze Joyes de Mariage" (Oxford, 1929), pp. xxxii-xxxiv; George M. Kahrl, "Robert Tofte's Annotations in The Blazon of Jealousie," Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology, 18 (1935), 47-49; Leslie Hotson, I, William Shakespeare (London, 1937), pp. 236-36. After 1937 only one account has appeared: C. A. O. Fox, Notes on William Shakespeare and Robert Tofte (Swansea, 1957), pp. 11-12.
3. Williams (p. 296) describes Tofte's annotations of Chaucer; Fox (pp. 42-44) lists the annotations.
4. This poem, MS. Malone 16, exists in manuscript in the Bodleian (First-Line Index of English Poetry 1500-1800 in Manuscripts of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, ed. Margaret Crune [Modern Language

4. (cont.) Association Index-Committee, 1969], p. 60). Williams inexplicably omits the poem from his list of Tofte's works.

5. See Satire 4, Explanatory Note 5.

6. I have not seen this work, which survives in autograph at Lambeth Palace, Lambeth MS. 1112. Williams (pp. 411-13) gives a fairly detailed description of it in his discussion of the canon.

7. Williams (1937) does not mention the untitled "America" poem and doubts that Tofte was responsible for The Batchelars Banquet. Fox (1957) follows Williams with three exceptions: he does not mention The Batchelars Banquet; he does include the "America" poem in the canon; and he omits The Blazon of Jealousie and The Fruits of Jealousie. The New CBEL (1974) includes The Batchelars Banquet but not the three manuscripts or The Fruits of Jealousie.

8. Prize:skies (ll. 45-46); make:predestinate (ll. 47-48); wealth: selfe (ll. 117-18); therein:bring (ll. 177-78); selfe:wealth (ll. 255-56); was:passe (ll. 391-92); masse:was (ll. 395-96). Tofte is particularly fond of the following rime-consonants: t:k, t:p, k:p, m:n, f:th.

9. Fox has identified numerous specific allusions to Shakespeare's Sonnets, Love's Labor's Lost, A Midsummer Night's Dream, 1 Henry VI and 3 Henry VI, Julius Caesar, The Merchant of Venice, Much Ado About Nothing, As You Like It, Hamlet, Troilus and Cressida, Macbeth, King Lear, Antony and Cleopatra, and The Tempest.

10. Collier discusses Laura, Alba, and Ariosto's Satyres, pp. 435-39; Scott, Elizabethan Translations From the Italian (Boston, 1916), treats eight works: Laura, Alba, Orlando Inamorato, Two Tales,

10. (cont.) Of Mariage and Wiving, Ariosto's Satyres, The Blazon of Jealousie, and Honours Academie (paragraphs 100, 104, 108, 116, 126, 143); Williams deals with all of the canon except the "America" poem (pp. 405-24).

11. Laura (STC 24097) was edited by Arber, An English Garner (1896), and is reprinted in Sidney Lee's Elizabethan Sonnets (New York, 1904), II, 351-242. All citations to Laura are from Lee's edition.

12. Lee, I, civ.

13. The unique exemplar of Two Tales (STC 749) is in the Folger Shakespeare Library. I have relied on a microfilm copy.

14. Ludovico Ariosto's Orlando Furioso Translated into English Heroical Verse by Sir John Harington (1591), ed. Robert McNulty (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1972), p. xli. All citations to Harington's translation are from this edition.

15. Ludovico Ariosto, Orlando Furioso, ed. Lanfranco Caretti (Milan, 1954), p. 1108. All citations to the poem are from this edition.

16. F. O. Matthiessen, Translation: An Elizabethan Art (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931), p. 4.

17. The text identifies the first stanza as 73 (sig. $L3^{v}$).

18. I have relied on a microfilm of the exemplar of the Orlando Inamorato (STC 3216) in the British Museum.

19. Only 62 copies of the 1880 edition were printed (British Museum General Catalogue, vol. 239, p. 678). I have relied on a photocopy of Grosart's Introduction and on a microfilm of the exemplar of Laura (STC 24096) in the Huntington Library.

20. William Shakespeare, The Complete Works, ed. Alfred Harbage (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1969), lines 5-8. All citations to the works of Shakespeare are from this edition.
21. Shakespeare's Sugared Sonnets (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1974).
22. I have relied on a microfilm of the exemplar of Of Mariage and Wiving (STC 23690) in the Huntington.
23. Edward Arber, A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers (London, 1875-94), III, 677.
24. I have relied on Wilson's edition and on a microfilm of the exemplar of the 1603 edition (STC 6476) in the British Museum.
25. I have relied on a microfilm of the exemplar of Honours Academie (STC 18053) in the Huntington.
26. For a brief discussion of the original French text, see Williams, p. 422.
27. MS. Rawlinson D.679. I have not seen this work.
28. Sig. O1. I have relied on a photocopy of the exemplar of Three Elegies appended to the 1611 edition of Ariosto's Satyres in the Huntington.
29. I have relied on a microfilm of the exemplar of The Blazon (STC 24593) in the University of Chicago Library.
30. Canto 31, stanza 1.
31. I have relied on descriptions of The Fruits of Jealousie in Williams (pp. 420-22) and Kahrl (pp. 66-67) and on Grosart's Introduction to Alba, where ten stanzas of the poem are reprinted.

31. (cont.) The Fruits is lacking in the University of Chicago copy of the exemplar of The Blazon.

32. The National Archives maintains records of passenger arrival lists, but in order to be allowed to search these records, one must know the name of the passenger, the port of entry, the name of the vessel, and approximate date of arrival or the port of embarkation (Harold Lancour, A Bibliography of Ship Passenger Lists 1538-1825 [New York: New York Public Library, 1963], pp. 93-95).

33. The Satires of Ludovico Ariosto: A Renaissance Autobiography (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1976), pp. xliii-xliv. All citations to an English translation of Ariosto's Satires other than Tofte's are from this edition.

34. Ludovico Ariosto (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1974), p. 46.

35. De Sanctis, History of Italian Literature, trans. Joan Redfern (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1931), II, 469-516; Croce, Ariosto, Shakespeare and Corneille, trans. Douglas Ainslie (New York: Russell and Russell, 1966), pp. 3-114; Symonds, Renaissance in Italy (New York: Capricorn Books, 1964), I, 432-57; II, 1-43; Gardner, The King of Court Poets (New York: Haskell House, 1968), pp. 305-12; Brand, Ludovico Ariosto (Edinburgh University Press, 1974), pp. 22-23).

36. "Robert Tofte's Translation of Ariosto's Satires," Satire Newsletter, VII (Spring, 1970), p. 108.

37. Jackson (d. 1625) was active in the London book trade from 1601 to 1625 (R. B. McKerrow, ed., A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers

37. (cont.) in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of Foreign Printers of English Books [London: The Bibliographical Society, 1968; F. P. 1910], p. 151).

38. Okes was a London printer, 1609 to 1639 (McKerrow, p. 206).

39. I have relied on a photocopy of the exemplar of the 1608 edition (STC 744) in the Huntington. According to William Warner Bishop's A Checklist of American Copies of "Short-Title Catalogue" Books (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950), there are six copies of the 1608 edition in American libraries: the Huntington, Yale University, Folger Shakespeare, Library of Congress, Harvard, and the Chapin Library at Williams College.

40. W. W. Greg, Some Aspects and Problems of London Publishing (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1956), p. 83. I have relied on a microfilm of the exemplar of the 1609 issue (STC 744.2) in the Folger Shakespeare Library. Bishop lists another copy in the Boston Public Library.

41. Stansby (d. 1639) was a London printer and bookseller, 1597-1639 (McKerrow, p. 256).

42. I have relied on a photocopy of the exemplar of the 1611 edition (STC 745) in the Huntington. Other copies are in the Folger, the Newberry (Chicago), the University of Illinois, Harvard, New York Public and University of Wisconsin Libraries (Bishop).

43. See Explanatory Notes 2, 7, 10 to the "argument" for specific information on Tofte's borrowings from Harington.

44. Fornari, La Spositione di M. Simone Fornari da Rheggio Sopra l'Orlando Furioso di M. Ludovico Ariosto (Florence, 1549); Catalano, Vita di Ludovico Ariosto ricostruita su nuovi documenti (Geneva: Olschki, 1930).

45. Quintus Horatius Flaccus, Horace's Satires and Epistles, trans. Jacob Fuchs (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1977), Satires, II.1. 62-67, 74-76. Subsequent references to Horace are to this edition.

46. The Arte of English Poesie (1589), rpt. in Elizabethan Critical Essays, ed. G. Gregory Smith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1904), II, 32.

47. An Apologie for Poetry (1595), rpt. in Smith, I, 176.

48. Doris C. Powers, English Formal Satire (The Hague: Mouton, 1971), p. 27.

49. Quintus Horatius Flaccus, Horace: his Arte of poetrie, Pistles, and Satyrs Englished by Thomas Drant. A facsimile reproduction with an Introduction by Peter E. Medine (New York: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1972), p. 139.

50. Decimus Junius Juvenalis, Satire I, line 30, in The Sixteen Satires, ed. Peter Green (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1967), p. 66.

51. For a discussion of melancholy as a motive for satire, see Alvin Kernan, The Cankered Muse (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), p. 113.

52. Joseph Hall, Virgidimae, I, Prologue, ll. 1-6, 19-24 in The Collected Poems of Joseph Hall, ed. Arnold Davenport (Liverpool: At the University Press, 1949), p. 11.

53. John Marston, The Scourge of Villanie, ed. G. B. Harrison (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1966), p. 10.

54. Hallet Smith, Elizabethan Poetry: A Study in Conventions, Meaning, and Expression (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), p. 219.

55. Ludovico Ariosto, Le Satire, Satira 1, lines 80-82, in Opere Minori, ed. Cesare Segre (Milan: Ricciardi, 1954), p. 502. Subsequent references to the Satires are from this edition.

56. "Horatian Influence and Imitation in Ariosto's Satires," Comparative Literature, 27 (Fall 1975), 310.

57. See Wiggins, pp. xxxvii-xliii for a thorough summary; for a complete description of the text and Ariosto's corrections, see the introduction to the edition of Giovanni Tambara, Le Satire di Ludovico Ariosto (Livorno, 1903).

58. I have relied on the English translation of Guicciardini by Sidney Alexander, The History of Italy by Francesco Guicciardini (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1969).

TEXT

Title Page of the 1608 Edition

Arioſto's
SATYRES, IN
SEVEN FAMOVS DIS-
courſes, ſhewing the State,

1 Of the Court, and Courtiers.
2 Of Libertie, and the Clergie in generall.
3 Of the Romane Clergie.
4 Of Marriage.
5 Of Soldiers, Muſitians, and Louers.
6 Of Schoolmaſtrs and Scholers.
7 Of Honour, and the happieſt Life.

In Engliſh, by Garuis Markham.



LONDON
Printed by *Nicholas Okes*, for *Roger Iackſon*, dwelling in Fleet-ſtreet, neere the great Conduit. 1608.

To the Reader

Gentle Reader, the vertuous, with their owne, having alwaies regard to an others good, do painfully bestow houres, daies, and yeares, to make that easie to others, which they with great labour have obtained; in their places, using all meanes, to reclaime all persons, from all manner vices, and to furnish them with such gifts of grace, as make the possessors all jointly happy. From the man of experience, which hath learning and wisedome, thou mayest bee sure to receive good instruction. I know my selfe unable to give the Author of this booke, his due commendation: if I were, and did, yet should I seeme to some, to flatter, to others not to have sayd inough: wherefore for thy contentment, let this suffice thee, the author had his education with the learned, his living among the greatest concourse of people, and his life unreproveable. For his gifts, the world hath already had sufficient experience, in that famous worke of *Orlando Furioso*. Whosoever thou art, I dare assure thee, thou mayest in this discourse (as in a glasse) see thy present estate, and so not misse to judge rightly of thy end. In reading thou shalt find pleasure, both in the matter and forme; by considering thou shalt be able to instruct thy selfe and others; but by practising as thou ought, thou shalt find setled happinesse. Let the example of others be thy instruction, to flie that evill which hath bin their overthrow,

and to embrace that good which was their advancement. Be thankful first to God, then to the author, and lastly to thy Country-man, who for thy sake, without any other recompence, hath taken the paines in most exquisite manner, to be thy interpreter.

Vale.

The argument of the whole worke, and the reasons why *Lodovico Ariosto* writ these Seaven Satyres

The reasons why Master Lodovico Ariosto *writ these seaven Satyres, so much renowned and esteemed amongst all the Italians, were grounded upon these five principles or discontentments.*

First, the Poet being given wholly unto his booke and study, was in the twentieth year of his age (at what time he began to write his Orlando Furioso*) entertained into the service of* Don Hypolito, *Cardinall of Este,*[1] *a greate favourer of learning and good wits;*[2] *where he continued certaine yeares at his study, being imployed by his Lord in many matters of greate importance, untill this strange accident hapned, which was the first occasion why he fell into disgrace with his Lord and master; and this it was.*

The Cardinall Hypolito *Master unto* Ariosto, *falling in love with a young Lady his kinswoman (who for her owne part was no lesse inamored of* Don Julio *the naturall brother unto the Cardinall) she confessed unto him, that the only thing which occasioned her (above all other) to affect his brother, was the sweet aspect and beauty of his eies; upon which the Cardinall grew into so great a hatred against his owne brother, that by jealousie turning his love into too violent fury, he set espialls over* Don Julio *when he should goe out of the towne on*

hunting, and set upon him with a company of villaines, whome the Cardinall commanded in his owne vresence to thrust out the eyes of his brother, because they onely were the choyce companions of his love; an acte no lesse infamous to the Cardinall, then intollerable to all humane govemement.[3] *Whereupon the Cardinall to escape all punishment that might happen to be inflicted upon him, hee presently fledde to* Agria *a Citty in* Hungary, *whereof he was Archbishop, & lived there untill the death of* Julio *the second then Pope of Rome, to avoyde his fury, who was much incensed against him. And because* Ariosto *would not follow him thither, as other of his servants in his ranke did, he tooke it marvellously ill at his hands, and casting him from favour upon so sleight an occasion, gave the Poet a ground for his invention.*[4]

The second cause of his discontentment was, that he being of very familiar and inward acquaintance with the Medices of Florence, *of which family two were Popes in his time, the one* Leo *the tenth, the other* Clement *the seventh, both which he followed in good will, and stood them in greate stead as well when they were banished their country, as when they lived as private men in their owne citty: but when he sawe his expectation was deceived, and that he found them not so ready to requite his service as himselfe imagined he had (and that rightly) deserved, he gave them over quickly, and left the Romane Court, retyring himselfe to live privatly in Florence.*[5]

For above all things he loved not to daunce long attendance at the Court for any preferment, neither would he be bound (longer then he pleased) unto any man, although hee might have had never so much, he prizing his liberty at so high a rate, as he esteemed the same more then the best Cardinals hat in Rome, as himselfe in his second Satyre affirmeth more plainly.

The third cause which made him passionate, was this: his father dying, left him a greate charge and very little living, there being five brothers of them, and as many sisters[6] *(besides his old mother) all which lay upon his hands to provide for them; which was no small corsive unto him, to be troubled with so many worldly businesses, he beeing given by nature to ease and to sit quietly at his booke; and this greeved him so much, as oftentimes he was giving over his study cleane, meaning to follow the world another while, had it not beene that he was perswaded to the contrary by a gentleman a deare friend and kinsman of his, whom he dearely loved, called* Pandolfo Ariosto,[7] *whose death afterward he very much lamented.*

The fourth cause of discontentment was, he was much galled with the love of women, whereunto he was a little too much given, it being a veniall sinne amongst the Italians; yet is he the rather to be pardoned, in that he often confesseth his fault, and sheweth himselfe to be sorry for the same, wishing that he could have amended it: and also because he

devoted himselfe unto the service of such as were honorable, as was that most faire and vertuous widow descended of the noble family of the Lapi *in Florence, as hee himself testifieth in one of his Canzons, in which he celebrateth the beauties and honors of his Mistrisse, setting downe therein the time when, and the place where he first was inamored of her; which was in Florence, in the yeare 1513. upon Saint* John Baptists *day in June: at what time the Florentines under the conduct of their chiefe Captaynes,* Julian *and* Peter di Medices *did solemnize many great feasts, and presented divers rich showes and playes before the people, in honor of their brother* Leo *the tenth, who then was newly chosen Pope.*[8] *But after Cardinall* Hypolito *dyed,* Alfonzo *Duke of Ferrara allured* Ariosto *by al the meanes he could unto his Court, offering him great offices and preferments to have served him in ordinary, but he loving his liberty more then any treasure refused his proffer, & yet not altogether in such sort, but that in some fashion he was content to retaine unto him.*[9] *Againe, had he beene given to have sought wealth and to have heaped riches together, he could no way have been without them for divers great Princes being willing to have had him live in their Courtes with them, made tender of many great pensions unto him, but he accepted of none: only he was content to offer his service (as I sayde before) to the aforesayd Duke* Alfonso, *whome he chose rather for country sake, and of meere love to the place wherein he was borne, then for any great gaine or promotion which he expected.*

Fiftly and lastly to conclude, he wrote these Satyres in Cardinall Hypolytoes *time, and whilst he continued with* Alfonso *Duke of Ferrara; who amongst other favours done unto him, made him president or lieutenant of a country called Graffignana (subject unto his Dukedome) but because the people were very factious and the country rebellious, and therefore he troubled over much with them, he tooke small pleasure in that government, but rather mightily complaineth thereof, as is to be seene in the fourth*[10] *and seventh Satyre:*

He was borne in Anno 1474: in the Castle of Reggio, *which standeth in Lumbardy, his father at that time being governour thereof: He dyed of a payne he had in his stomacke, and was buried in Saint* Bennets *Church in Ferrara, having a fayre monument of marble with his statue placed thereupon, and an Epytaph which a gentleman a friend of his bestowed upon him.*[11]

The first Satyre[1]

THE ARGUMENT.

He sheweth what qualities such men ought to have, who goe about to purchase credit and wealth in the Courts of Princes: and that both his service and his writings have beene most ungratefully requited by his Lord and Maister.

To his Brother Mr. A. A.[2] and his friend L. B.[3]

Brother, both of yourselfe and of my friend[4]
I faine would know this doubts uncertaine end:
Whether the Court thinkes of us as we be,
Or in oblivion drownes our memorie.
Whether my Lord accuse my staying heere,
Or if I have a friend so nobly deere,
As in mine absence will excuse my blame,
And gainst mine imputations, reasons frame:
That albe others follow him, yet I,
May stay behinde with ample honesty.
Or whether all of you most learnedly
Read in the wealthy rules of flattery,
(That Goddesse of great Courtiers) rather augment
By your soft smoothings, his high discontent:
And so lift up the fury of his heart,

Beyond both reason, sense, and my desart.
Well, if you do so, you are then most wise,
For so in these daies Courtiers onely rise:
He is a foole that strives to live by losse,
And t'is wits madnesse when our prince we crosse:
Not though he said he saw the mid-day bright,
Covered with starres as in the darke of night;
No, he that will by great mens favours live,
To sooth and flatter, must by no meanes grieve.
Let greatnesse either praise or discommend,
Do we not see how his attendants send
Their verdicts forth, to jumpe with what he saies
Like Echos, or the Actors of stage plaies?
And from their lips send vollies of consent,
As if t'were done by Act of Parliment:[5]
And if by chance, any amongst them be,
(As t'were most strange in such a company)
That dares not speake so much for bashfulnesse,
Yet shall his looke applaud it nearthelesse:
And his oyld shining countenance tell, that he
In silence doth commend their flatterie:
Though this in others you do discommend,
Yet me it doth much reputation lend:[6]
Because what ever my resolves have moulded,
I plainly without flattery have unfoulded,

And utterd forth my reasons in such sort,
That no disgrace would to my fame retort,
The least of which in this extremitie,
I hold of worthy strong validity.
As first my life, which nature bids me prize,
Above all wealth thats underneath the skies,
Nor will I it by follie shorter make,
Then fortune or the heavens predestinate.
If I should spend in travaile my best times,
And sucke th' infectious aire of forraine climes,
Being already sickly, I should die,
[a] Else *Valentine* and *Posthumus* do lie.
Againe, men say I know my bodies state,
Better then any other can relate.
Can judge what for my selfe is good or ill,
And therefore am referd to mine owne skill,
Which being so, I know my natures strength
Can not endure your cold climes: as at length
Your selves have proved and found that Italie,
Doth farre exceed the North in dignitie.
Besides, the cold doth not offend me more,
Then doth their stoves, whose heat I much abhor;

---

[a]Two famous Physitions belonging to *Alphonzo* Duke of Ferara, the second of that name, the last of which is said to have beene borne with a greene palme in his hand, and therefore it was thought he would proove an excellent Physitian, as afterward he did.[7]

My nature being such, that even the sent
I loath as t'were a plague malevolent.
[8]Nor in the winter breathes with you a man,
Without his hot house, bath, or warming pan;
Where here with us, nature doth order keep,
We drinke untill we sweat, sweat till we sleep:
Eate til our jawes ake, game till our bones are weary,
Kisse till our lips smart: all things make us merry.
Then who that comes from us, with you can live
In health, or to himselfe contentment give?
[b] When like *Riphaean*, snowie mountaines hie,
Many through sharpnesse of the aire do die.
As for my selfe, the vapours which exhale,
And from my queasie stomacke rise and fall,
Breeding Catharres, and my sick braines unrest,
Which soone from thence fal down into my breast,
Would quickly rid me, in one night I know,
Both of my life and sicknesse at a blow.
Adde unto this the strength of fuming wine,
Which boiles like poison in these veines of mine,
Which custome make them quaffe & to carouse,
Who doth refuse is sacrilegious:

---

[b]Hee compareth that part of Hungary where the Cardinall was unto the cold *Ryphaean* mountains in Scythia, which are ever covered over with snow.

Their meat with pepper, and with spices hot,
Is mixt to make them relish more the pot:
Which diet *Reason* my Physitian saith,
Will make my sorrow long, and short my breath.
But you will answere me, that if I please,
My selfe may be the Steward of mine ease.
And both provid warme lodgings and sound friends
Who will not tie me to those drunken ends.
Which custome and the countries libertie,
Hath knit to men of place and quality.
You'le say I may provide my selfe a Cooke;
Whose care might over my provisions looke.
And that my selfe according to my pleasure
Might with my coine, my conduit water measure,
Whilest you and your associates with delight,
Should make of one just length both day and night:
And I like to a Charterhous close Frier,[9]
Sit in my chamber, and attend my fire,
Eate mine owne breath, and most impatiently,
Like [§]*Timon* live without mans company.
And yet this is not all, behinde is worse,
I must have houshold stuffe to plague my purse:
Both for my kitchin, and my chambers grace,

[§]*Timon* was a Nobleman of Athens, who for the ingratitude of that city became so inhumane that he grew in hate of all mens companies.[10]

As fathers furnish brides in such a case.

[c] Besides, if master *Pasquin*, from his love,

For once or twice, should daine but to approve,

To dresse my meat alone, yet in the end,

He would my severe humour discommend,

And say, if such particulars I hold,

I must provide a Cooke of mine owne mould.

And truly were my wealth strong as my will,

Such counsaile I would earnestly fulfill.

[11d] Or if I had *Francisco Steviars* wealth,

No Prince should be more followd then my selfe:

But this great charge, I can no way support,

My meanes doth yield my minde so little comfort.

Besides, if to my Steward I should say,

(What best these watrish humours doth alay)

That buy and buy (what ere thou paiest) the best,

Because such things my stomacke doth disgest.

If once or twice to please me he do frame,

Four times at least, he will forget the same.

Not daring sometimes buy them from this feare,

---

[c]This was Cardinall *Hypolitoes* Cooke, whom hee had with him into Hungary.

[d]This was one of the greatest landed men in Ferara, whose father maried the base daughter of *Borzo*, somtime Duke of that City, by whom he had a mightie Masse of treasure.

Lest I should loathe it cause the price is deere.
Hence comes it, oft I feed on bread alone,
Which breedes in me the chollicke and the stone.
Hence I live private, hence I am subject much,
[e] To choler, and to every peevish tuch:
Fretting and fuming with such peevishnesse,
That in my best friends, I leave doubtfulnesse.[13]
[§]*Apollo* thee I thanke, it is thy will,
And you faire *Muses* of the learned hill:
I find that for your sakes I not possesse,
Apparell that will cloath my nakednesse.
But say my Lord doth (as it is most true)
Each severall yeare make me apparell new.
Yet for your[14] sakes that he performe the same,
T'is most untrue, or so to thinke a blame.
Himselfe avowes as much, as well I may
With reputation write what he doth say,
[15]Yet am no neerer my cares to rehearse,
Sith he respects stawes better then my verse.
All creatures can commend sweet poesie,
But none respects the Poets povertie.

---

[e]*Ariosto* by nature was very cholerick, to be moved for any small trifle, as may appeare by the breaking of the Potters pots, which is spoken of in the story of his life.[12]

[§]*Apollo* was the god of wisedome and only favourer of Poets and Learning.

[f] That famous worke which I in painefull wise
Compos'd to raise his glories to the skies
He doth deny the merit of all fame,
Learning must beg; but rich men are to blame,
To gallop up and downe, and post it hard:
My Lord avowes t'is he deserves reward,
Who keepes his banquet-house and banco[16] sweet
And like a Spaniell waits upon his feet.
That nicely plaies the secret Chamberlaine,
And watches every houre with great paine:
Or he that to his bottles cleanly lookes,
And cooles his ale or wine in running brookes:
Or else his Page that dares not close an eie,
Untill the *Bergamaskes*[17] industriously
Doe beat on their anvils, whose very sound
Brings the poore sleepy boy into a swound.
To these he gives his great benevolence,
And doth approve their worthes by recompence:
He saith if in my bookes he praised be,
T'is nothing or to him, or unto me.
And that it was the seede of Idle time,
Nourisht by vanitie and foolish rime,

---

[f] He meaneth *Orlando Furioso*, about which worke *Ariosto* spent almost 18 yeares, taking his subject out of Count Boyardo, Earle of Scandiane in Lumbardy, who finisht 3. bookes of *Orlando Inamorato*.

And from my service hé might more have gained,
If I in other sort to him retained.
[g] What if within the Millan chancery,
Under the shew of some authority,
He hath bestow'd not fully out a third,
Of that true gaine the place might well afford
Unto my labour? yet what was done therein,
Was that my travell might his profit bring,
And that mine endlesse travell and my cares,
Might bring an end unto his great affaires.
Well [§]*Virgil* if thou wilt be worldly wise,
Let my too deare bought counsell thee advise,
Thy harp, thy bookes, thy verse with darknes shade,
And in thine old age learne some handy trade:
Or if thou hopest in this world to gaine,
Some office get, or to some Prince retaine:
For worse plague I neare wish mine enemie,
Then to be famous for sweete Poetry.
Yet this be sure, thy liberty is lost,
Uncertainty of place so deare doth cost:
Nor thinke although thou livest untill thy haire
Like flakes of snowie *Apenins* appeare,

---

[g]This was a certaine office of no great value in *Millain*, which the Cardinal bestowed upon him.[18]

[§]*Virgil* was the most famous Poet of *Mantua*, and in hy esteeme with *Augustus* the Emperour.[19]

Or that thy Lord as many old daies have,

As aged *Nestor* bore unto his grave.

[20]Thinke not, I say, that thou shalt ever come,

By him or by his meanes to higher roome:

Or if once tired with servitude thou please

But to looke back or turne unto thine ease.

Blest maist thou be if he vouchsafe to take,

But from thee what he gave for vertues sake,

And so without more thought of injury,

Send thee away with thred-bare charitie.

As for my selfe what ever he hath given,

If he back take and make my fortunes even,

[h] Because that *Buda* neither *Agria* I

Would see or follow him in *Hungarie:*

Yet I mislike not, force makes me content,

And shall doe, since against me he is bent;

Although away those prosperous plumes he bring,

Which even him selfe did fix unto my wing;

---

[h]Two famous cities in Hungarie, whereof the first now called *Osen*, hath under the walles towards the north west side, two fountaines or springs running out of a maine hill, the one of which is passing cold, and yet savoureth of brimstone, & the other so hot that one cannot suffer his finger in it. The other citie called *Agria* was an Archbishopprick, and the Cardinall Lord thereof, where he staid during the papacie of *Julio* the Second, whose furie he feared, because he had delt so unnaturally & barbarously, with his owne brother, as is shewed before in the generall argument. Both these townes now are subject to the *Turke*.[21]

[i] Although he doe exclude me from all grace,
And will not smile on me with chearefull face:
Although he say I am disloiall proved,
Respectlesse, base, unworthy to be loved;
And that his publique speeches doe declaime,
How much he hates my memorie and name:
Yet patience shall within my bosome sit,
And thinke that I was borne to suffer it.
This was the reason that I have removed
My best observance, since I was not loved:
Knowing it was effectles to approve,
To bring incensed greatnes back to love.
[k] *Rogero*, if thy royall progeny,
From their disdaine blast me with obloquie,
And I from them have nothing got, altho
Their worthy valours and brave deedes I shoe,

---

[i] The Cardinall *Hypolito* was much incensed against *Ariosto*, because he would not follow him into Hungarie, as the rest of his men did.

[k] The house of Este is said to have descended from *Rogero* that famous Palladine which belonged unto *Charles* the great. This *Rogero* is reported to come from the stock of *Alexander* the great, his father was King of *Riza* not far from the mountaine of *Carena*, and his mother was called faire *Galacuella*, who was sister unto *Agramant* King of Africk, whose chiefe citie was Bizerta quite raced & destroied by *Charles* the great, & his Palladines. *Rogero* afterwards lost his life through the treason of that notable arch-traitor *Gano*, falling into a wonderfull deepe pit, wherein he with *Gradasso* king of Sericano, who had maried *Rogeroes* sister *Marfyza*, were most pitifully famished to death: for which, with other horrible treasons more, *Gano* being after taken, was torne in peeces with wild horses.[22]

Spending my time and wit most studiously,

To raise them tombes unto eternity,

Then what should I doe with them? tis well knowne

[l] I am no falkconer, all my arte is flowne

From such light vanities, I have not the skill,

To make my spaniels noses please my will:

Nor was I ever brought up to the same,

Or can there to my worse indeavors frame:

For I am big, unwieldy, grose and fat,

And such strong motions gree not with my state.

I have no curious taste, or eie of fire

To please the tongue or the unchast desire.

Steward nor Cater to a noble man,

I was not borne to be, I nothing can

In those low offices. It had been good,

I then had liv'd when men eate homely food.[23]

[m] *Gismunds* accounts, I will not on me take,

[n] Nor unto Rome an idle journey make,

---

[l] *Ariosto* neither loved hunting, hauking, nor much riding, for growing in years he became very corpulent, grose and unwieldly.

[m] This was the Cardinals Steward, meaning hee would not if he might have his place, although he fared very daintily, for he was given by nature to feed meanly and grossely.

[n] Pope *Julio* the Second, intending to make warres upon the Duke of Ferara, (whose brother the Cardinall *Hypolito* was) *Ariosto* was chosen as a most fit man to go in ambassadge unto him, to pacifie his wrath, which businesse he managed so well, that he wan great reputation upon his returne home againe, yet the aforesaid Pope, afterward falling out again

Posting with all my reasons to asswage
The fiery heat of great *Secundus* rage.
But say my fortune at such ods should runne,
That needes by me such service must be done:
I feare me in the businesse would be found,
Dangers more great, and able to confound.
Besides, if such hard services must be,
And that men must attend with slavery,
[o] As doth *Arctophylax* upon the Beare:
He that desires to purchase gold so deere
Let him enjoy it freely; for my selfe
I will not at so high rate buy my wealth.
Before advancement in such sort shall please,
Ile only study how to gaine mine ease:
Rather then cares shall compasse me about
And from my mind thrust contemplation out:
Which though my body it enrich not right,

---

[n](cont.) with the Duke, and every man shunning the office of embassador, unto him, knowing his furious and angry nature, *Ariosto* once more for the service of his Prince, and the safety of his country, did adventer to take this hard enterprise in hand, where he had like to have lost his life, but that he secretly got away. This Pope *Julio* was fitter to have beene a Souldier then a Priest, of whom it is said, that hearing he had lost certaine of his army in the battel, apparelled himselfe in compleat armor, & marching on the way as he came over Tyber, he in a great rage threw the keies of *Peter* therein, saying, he would see if the sword of *Paul* would stand him in better steed.[24]

[o]He alludeth a certain signe in Rome, where a man is painted, waiting and attending on a Beare.[25]

Yet to my mind it addes such rare delight,
That it deserveth in immortall stories,
To be enrold with all admired glories.
And hence it comes my povertie I beare,
As it on earth my best of best things were.
This makes that brothel wealth I doe not love,
Or that great name or titles do me move:
Or any State allurements so adore,
That I wil sell my libertie therefore.
This makes me never to desire or crave,
What I not hope for, nor am like to have.
Nor choler nor disdaine doth me assaile,
Nor inward envy shewes my count'nance pale;
Sith §*Maron* or *Celio* are Lords created,
Or from low basenes into greatnes stated.
Nor doe I care for sitting at great tables,
Soothing the humors of these pufpast bables;
But hold them as the scum of foolery,
Whom rymers taxe in idle balladry:
That I without attendants am content,
To walke a foote, and make my selfe consent
To follow mine affaires; and when I ride,
To knit my cloak-bag to my horses side,

---

§ By these he taxeth certaine unworthy gentlmen in Rome who being allyed unto the Pope were called unto dignities undeservedly.[26]

As much doth please me, as at my command,
A world of mercenary knaves did stand.
And sure I thinke my sinne is lesse each way,
In this (for I respect not what men say)
Then when in court I am inforst to bribe,
And every scornefull proud delay abide,
Ere our most lawfull suits unto the Prince,
We can preferre and be dispacht from thence,
Or slander honest titles, or subvert,
Right without reason, conscience or desert,
Only to shew our malice, or whats worse,
(Because thereon doth hang a heavy curse)
To make poore parsons buy their tenths so deare,
That they are double forc't their sheepe to sheare.
Besides, it makes me with a pure devotion,
Thank my good God for my lowe safe promotion,
And that where ere I come I this have proved.
I live amongst the best and am beloved.
Tis knowne though I no service had, I have
[P] Goods to maintaine me, and to buy a grave.
That which to me from birth and fortune came,
Is such as I may boast without my shame:

[P] *Ariosto* being of nature desirous to be quiet, and to be his owne man, had rather have a small thing of his owne, then to serve others & injoy much: for indeede his living was but small, although he set a good face on the matter.

But for I will not worke your too much paine,
To my first song I will returne againe,
[27]That I no true occasion have to grieve,
Because in your commercement I not live.
I have already strength of reasons showne,
And yet if more should be unto you knowne,
It would be to no end, sith I doe see,
That our opinions warres will not agree.
Yet with one other more I will contest,
Because I hold it stronger then the rest:
If I from my poore house should start away,
All would to wrack, I being all their stay.
[q] Of five of us (all which now living are)
Three are removed into Regions farre.
As *Charles*, who in that kingdome meanes to stay,
From whence the Turkes *Cleanthus* drove away:
Gallasso for a Bishoprick in Rome,
Doth daily gape and lookes when it should come.
Thou *Alexander* dost with my Lord remaine,

---

[q]Although *Ariosto* were his fathers eldest sonne, yet he had 4 brethren more, and five sisters, & therefore his living could not be but small, considering his charge. The names of his brethren were *Charles*, *Alexander*, *Galasso*, and *Gabriel*. *Charles* was a soldier, & was then in Hungarie with a friend of *Ariostos*, a captaine called *Cleanthus*, who having the keeping of a castle there, was driven from it by the Turkes. *Alexander* was secretarie to the Cardinall *Hypolito*, & followed him into Hungarie: but *Gabriel* although he were borne lame, yet *Ariosto* brought him up so well, as he became a reasonable good schollar, and followed his booke hard, yet much inferior to his brother.[28]

Making thy service purchase of thy gaine.
Only poore *Gabriels* here: but what wouldst thou
That he should doe hereafter? or what now?
He as thou know'st, of hands and feete is lame,
And so into this wretched world first came.
Abroad he hath not gone, which cannot go,
Little hath seene, and lesse then that doth know:
Onely at home he doth securely bide.
Now he that takes upon him for to guide
A house, as I have done, must have respect,
That they doe not the impotent neglect.
My maiden sister[29] is with me beside,
Whose dowrie I am bound I shall provide:
Til which I have effected honestlie,
I can nor say nor thinke that I am free.
[r] Lastly, th'unweildie age of mine old mother,
Doth all my other cogitations cover:
She must not be forsaken of us all,
Unlesse to ruine wee will headlong fall.
[30]Of tenne I am the eldest, and am growne
An old man full of fortie foure yeares knowne,
My head is bald, and for I sicknes feare,

---

[r]He was a most duetifull and charitable man to all his poore kindred, especially unto his old mother who lived in the house with him many yeares, of whom he had a most reverend care and respect.

My braines to comfort, I a night cap weare.
The small remainder of my life behind,
To keepe it curiously is all my minde.
But thou whose issue from my mothers wombe,
After me fully eighteene yeares didst come,
Go thou and serve my Lord, and spend thy breath
In heate, in cold, in danger and to death.
Go view the world, high Duch and Hungarie,
Attending on him most obsequiously.
Serve for us both, and where my zeale doth lack,
Make thou amends and bring my favours back.
Who if he truly please of me to thinke,
The service I can doe him is with inke
To give his fame large wings, not in the field,
To prove my force, in such assaults I yeeld.[31]
Say unto him, Great Lord at thy command,
My brothers services doe humbly stand,
[32]Whilst I at home with a shril trumpets sound,
Will spread his worthy name upon the ground:
That it shall goe as farre as Sea or land,
Yea and beyond the *Gadean* pillars strand.
[S] To *Ariano* and *Filo* it shall fly,
But not so farre as flowes swift Danuby:

[S]Two cities standing in the furthermost parts of the Duke of *Ferarae* dominions.

For my weake muse can hardly jumpe so farre,
So wet (alasse) my feet and bodie are.
But could the glasse of time to me restore,
Those fifteene yeares which I have spent before,
Then would I never doubt but that the fire
Of my quick braine throgh all worlds should aspire.
But if he thinkes because he gives to me,
Each foure monthes twenty five crownes[33] for a fee:
Which pension is not alwaies duely paid,
But many times by many humors staid:
I therefore shall such bondage to him owe,
As if I were his villaine, and not know
Ought but his will, my health and life neglect,
Enter all dangers without all respect:
If so he thinke his greatnes is mistaken,
Nor shall he finde my liberty forsaken.
Tel him ere ile live in such slavery,
Ile entertaine most loathsome poverty.
Once there an Asse was, of his skinne and bone A tale.[34]
So leane, that under them he flesh had none,
Who stealing through a hole that broken was,
Into a barne well stuft with corne did passe,
Where he so cloid his stomack and his hart,
That he grew fat and full in every part;
His bodie growne to such a shapeles masse,

That like a tun his huge proportion was.
But in the end fearing if he should stay,
His bones too dearely for his meate should pay,
Intends to issue forth where he came in,
But is deceived, for why his bellies skinne,
Hath made his bulke so great with that he stole,
His head can hardly now peepe through the hole:
Nearth'lesse he strives and struggles much in vaine,
Lost is his labour and his booteles paine.
A little mouse which spi'd him, thus did say,
Asse if from hence thou wilt thy selfe convay:
Thy bodie thou must bring to such poore case,
As when thou first didst come into this place.
[35]Leane and like carion must thy carcase be,
Else neare expect safe harmelesse liberty.
Hence I conclude, and boldly dare impart,
That if my Princely master from his hart,
Thinke with his gifts that he hath purchast me,
It shall not to my selfe ought grievous be,
That I restore them back to him again,
So I my former libertie may gaine.
Freedome I onely love, since I did heare,
That men doe many times buy gold too deare.

The second Satyre[1]

THE ARGUMENT.

He sheweth in his owne person that nature is contented with little, and how much a man should esteeme of his liberty. The troublesome life of Church-men, and the great miseries wherein those of the Court of Rome live.

To his reverend Brother G. A.[2]

Sith mine affaires, not my desires, become
The causes why I goe to visit Rome:
[a] When Card'nals change their skinnes like to the Snake,
And for their God doe better choices make:
Now when no dangerous sicknesses abound,
To infect mens bodies that are weake or sound,
Although a greater plague afflicts their mindes,
[b] Whilest that same wheele or *Ruota* turnes and windes:
O not that wheele, which doth *Ixion* scurge,
But that which doth in Rome so shrewdly purge
Mens purses; whilst through long & vile delaies,
Lawyers on them (As foule on carion) praies:

---

[a] At the election of new Cardinals, and at the death of the old, the other Cardinals use (through friendship) to exchange their first livings for others that are better.[3]

[b] This is one of the greatest offices belonging to the Apostolical Sea, it is not much different from the Roules here with us in England.[4]

[c] *Gallasso* pray thee take for me (not farre
From that same place where thy commercements are,
I meane neare to that sumptuous Temple brave,[5]
Which auncient Fathers that stout Priests name gave,
Who *Malchas* eare from off his head did cleave,
And more had done might he have had but leave)
A lodging for foure beasts: by which I meane,
[d] Account me with my man (old *John*) for twaine.
The other two a *Moile* and *Gelding* is,
A tired jade, that all his teeth doth misse.
Let it be lightsome, but not mounting hie,
I cannot brooke this climbing to the skie.
A chimney let it have that will not smoake,
For such perfumes do both me blind & choake.
Of our poore jades, thou likewise must take care,
For should their provender be scant or bare,
Little the stables warmth would them availe,
And in my journey I should hap to faile.
My bed and bedding of the best I crave,
That so my rest might sweeter quiet have.

---

[c] This was his third brother, of whom he spake in his first Satyre, he was a Church-man, and lay in Rome to get some benefice or Church living.

[d] This was his man he kept, & one that had served him long, his name was *John de pascia*, to whom when he died, he left halfe of all the moveables hee had, because he had bin an honest & faithful servant unto him.[6]

The matter cotten or fine wooll and thinne,
By no meanes let it be within an Inne.
My wood to burne, I would have old and drie,
That it might dresse my meat conveniently.
A bit of Mutton, Biefe, or Lambe, or Veale,
For me and for my man doth full availe.
[e] No curious Kitchin cooke I do desire,
With sauce to set mine appetite on fire:
Making me have a stomacke gainst my will,
Or being full have still desire to fill.
Let those proud curious Artists use their braine,
To keep their pots and vessels silver cleane,
And tend on Ladies, or for recompence
[f] Strive to content *Vorranos* glutton sence:
Whilest I with a poore scullion am content,
And being cleanly, thinke him excellent.
He that by eating, seekes still how to eate,
And makes not hunger sauce unto his meat,
Let him go cast his vomit farre from me,
Ile neither hold his rule nor companie.

---

[e] Although the Poet was very carefull of his health, & very precise in small matters yet in his diet he was very plain & grosse, & not over daintie in feeding at all, as himselfe affirmeth in the first Satyr.

[f] This was a noble of Mantua, who delighted so much in gluttony as hee had choice and change of all sauces for all kinds of meats, he used to eate the more to increase his appetite. Hee was surnamed by some, *Lucullus* of Mantua.[7]

Cookes now on every upstart fellow waite,
Who but erewhile did cheese and onions eate,
And in a russet frock was glad to keep,
On barren hils his masters flocks of sheep;
But now (this bore) growne rich by fortunes grace,
Shames even to heare of his first fortunes place.
His Pheasants, Larks, & Blackbirds have he must,
Who erst was glad to leap even at a crust:
Alwaies to feed upon one dish of meat,
Doth cloy his stomacke, and he cannot eate.
He now the wild bores taste doth truely know,
Which up and downe the drier mountaines goe,
From th' other which rich *Elizean* fields,[8]
(Fatned) unto the Roman Market yeelds.
I seeke no water from the fountaines cleare,
But that which come from Tyber, and is neare,
So it be setled well and very pure;
For troubled waters hardly I endure:
For wine it skils not, yet good wine I love,
And mixt with water many times do prove,
(Though very little) and the taverne still,
Will yeeld as much or little as I will.
The wines which grow upon the marrish brinke,
Unlesse delayed much I never drinke.
The stronger wine, my braine doth make the worse,

Offends my stomack, & my voice makes hoarse.
What then will these do, which are drunke with you?
I doubt the proofe I shall but find too true.
[g] The *Corsick* wines, and those of faithles *Greece*,
Nor the *Lygurian*, though all of one peece,
Are not so vile as these: these are so strong,
That to the best conceits they do much wrong.
The Frier[9] that in his study private sits,
Is with this liquor thrust out of his wits,
The whilest with expectation and much doubt,
The wondring people gaze and looke about,
When he the Gospels blessed truth should shoe,
Who comes no sooner forth, but up doth goe
Into the pulpit with a fiery grace,
A red-rose cheeke, and a distemperd face:
Making a noice with violence of passion,
And swearing out the scriptures in strange fashion,
Threatning with judgments & such damned fate,
That all his audience he makes desperate.
[10h] This also troubleth *Messier Moskins* head,

---

[g]The wines of the Iland of Corsica, are so excellent good and strong, as there is a proverb in Italy of them, which is *un Corso, un Greco, un Romanesco.*

[h]A notable drunkard, but otherwise a man that had good parts in him, being Steward or Bailiffe unto the Monestarie of Sta. *Maria, Ara Coeli,* a house of *Franciscan* Friers in Rome of which covent also Frier *Gualing* was, a good scholler, but over much given to drinking.

Whilest he is caried drunke unto his bed,
And Frier *Gualing* with his company,
Faining to hate *Vernachia*[11] mightily,
Who once but got out of their cloister doore,
[i] To th' *Gorgon* or the *AEthiopian* More
They go, and there Pigeons and Capons fat,
They eate untill they breathe and sweat thereat:
So likewise use they, when as all alone,
They forth from their Refectorie are gone.
Provide me bookes to passe those houres away,
In which Romes prelates, onely feed and play.
Who once at board, they give a strait command,
None enter at their gates in any hand:
As Friers do use, who bout the mid of day,
[k] (Although you ring the bell, cry loud or pray)
Yet once set at the table, they'le not move,
Were it to gaine more then a Princes love.
My Lord[13] Ile say (for brother is too base,
Since Spanish complement tooke plainnes place,

---

[i] Two of the chiefest Taverns in Rome, where most commonly the best wine and best victuals were, & where most Dutchmen resort, when they come to the City.[12]

[k] It is a fashion in religious houses, when they are once set at dinner or supper never to open their dore unto any man, knocke they never so much, untill they are risen from the table, which order the Jesuits observe more strictly then any other.

And Sr.[14] is sent to every bawdy house,

Tis now so common and ridiculous)

Signior (I'le terme the basest Rascall now,

And making courtsie low unto him bow)

For Gods sake pray your reverend Lord to daine

To lend his eare whilest I of wrongs complaine.

[15][l] *Agora non se puede*, will he say,

Es megiore, (good sir) to go your way.

E vos tornies a la magnana. Then

If you reply upon him fresh agen,

And say; yet let me trouble you once more,

Tell him I do attend him at the dore.

[16]Then surely [§]*Cerberus* growes Peacocke proud,

And this rough answer thunders forth aloud.

I tell thee friend, my Lord is at repose,

And will not troubled be with suters woes:

He will not speake with *Peter*, *Paul* nor *John*,

Nor heare the embassie of any one:

[m] No though his master *Narzareth* were here,

---

[l]Hee setteth downe the proud humour of the Spaniard when he is at his table, in his own language.

[§]*Cerberus* was a dog or monster with three heads, & fained to be the porter of hell, to which our Poet doth compare the porters of the Italian monasteries and the chamberlaines of the Cardinals.

[m]This speech is reported to come from Cardinal *S. George*, who being high Chamberlain unto the Apostolike Sea, & a man of mightie wealth and authoritie, it hapned that the Pope (than then was) sent one of his

He would not daine to move out of his chaire,

And therefore thou nor manners hast nor shame,

Thy suits at such unfitting times to frame.

But had I [§]*Linx* his eies on them to prie,

As with my minds eies I them full espy,

Or were they but transparant like to glasse,

That through their inmost thoughts my sight might passe:

Such deedes I then (perhaps) should see them act

Within their privy chambers: that the fact

---

[m](cont.) chiefe officers to speake with him about some matter of importance: he being then set at dinner, whereupon one of the Cardinals Gentlemen told his Lord in his eare, that there was one very desirous to speake with him from his holinesse: but he not noting any thing, made shew as if hee did not heare his man: whereupon the partie returned back unto him that was at the doore, certifying him that hee had delivered his message, but his Lord seemed to give no eare unto him. Notwithstanding this the messenger told him, he must needes speake with him, and with all, used such perswasions unto him, that the yong Gentleman (although very loath) knowing his Lords cholericke nature, returned backe unto the Cardinall, certifying him once more that the aforesaid partie desired very earnestly to speake with him but one word from the Pope, and that it was Mr. *Paul* Archdeacon of Saint *Anastalens* one of the Masters of the Chauncery: to whom Saint *George* (raising himselfe up a little in his chaire, and looking very angerly upon his man) burst out into these blasphemous speeches. Tell him I will not speak with *Paul* nor *Peter*, no nor with their master the Nazaret himself now I am set at dinner. The Gentleman hearing such a terrible shot discharged at his eare made haste to report the same to the Archdeacon, who was walking up and downe before the doore to coole himselfe, who hearing the Cardinals answere, made the signe of the crosse and blessed himselfe, saying, it may well be that Saint *George* who is a Souldiers rough companion, and one that wanteth good manners might send such an answere: But I am sure, Christ himselfe would never have sent so plaine a message unto his holinesse, and thereupon he departed.[17]

[§]*Linx* was a Monster with many eyes and was supposed to see all things.[18]

Would given them juster cause themselves to hide,
From heavens sunne, then any man beside.
[19]But they in time I hope will quite forsake
This loathed life, and better vertues take.
This as an Item is to their transgression,
To shew I wish and pray for their conversion.
But sure I am, thou longst to know why I
Desire to visit Rome thus speedily.
[n] Well, I will tell thee: Tis because I seeke
A living small by patent[20] safe to keep:
An office tis, which I in *Millan* hold,
(Although but smal) yet more then lose I would:
[o] And to provide *St. Agats* parsonage,
I might possesse if th' old Priest worne with age,
And much expence of time, should hap to die,
During the time, my fortunes there should lie.
Thou wilt suppose I runne into the net,
Which I was wont to say, the divell did set
To catch those fooles, whose over burning hearts
Swallowes their makers bloud without desarts:

---

[n]This office I spake of before, was given him by the Cardinal, which he sought to get during his own life by patent from the Pope, the same being one of the chief occasions why he would lie a while in Rome.

[o]St. *Agata* is a Church in Rome, not far from the Piscaria or Fish market, the reversion of which benefice, *Ariosto* was offred, although he would not accept thereof, as you may read a little after.[21]

But tis not so, my thoughts did ne're agree,
To love this cure or callings soveraignty:
My meaning is, the living to bestow,
On such a one as mine owne thoughts doe know
Fit for the same, for his lives gravity,
His learning, manners, vertue, honesty.
[P] To be a sacred Priest I will not prove,
Cope, Rochet, Surplice, nor a Stole I love:
Nor will I have a shav'd anointed crowne,
Or weare the ring which Bishops do renowne.
In vaine I go about to take a wife,
If I should aime at a religious life:
Or having taken one but to suppose,
That for the Church t'were fit my wife to lose:
But both these callings are of such desart,
That albe I adore them in my heart:
Yet when I thinke how full they are of care,
Of neither (with resolve) I venture dare.
Priest-hood and mariage, who so doth obtaine,
Save but by death, no freedome can attaine.
But here (perhaps) thou maiest demand of me,
My reasons fault and insufficiency:

[P] Two things our Poet reverenced, and would often commend them, the one was Priest-hood, & the other Mariage, and yet he liked neither of them both.

Wherefore so great a burthen I do take,[22]
And instantly the same away do shake,
Seeking to give mine honours to another.
Well though thy selfe, my friends & every other,
Shall blame, nay hate me, sith I doe let go,
And will not take my fortunes when they floe;
Yea since at bounties hands Ile not accept
The gifts of greatnesse, but doe all neglect,
To shrive my soule to thee, and shew the cause,
Which me to such a course of follie drawes:
[q] This thus. The old priest having understood,
By the best friend both to his age and bloud:
That underhand his death was closely wrought,
By one that for his holy living sought,
Fearing by poison to be made away,
He sends for me, and humbly doth me pray:
That I into the open court would come,
And there take resignation of his roome:

---

[q]*Ariosto* was a man of so good a conscience, that a certaine old Priest, having a fat benefice, called S. *Agata*, in the Piscaria in Rome, of which wee but now spake, and being in doubt to be poysoned, for greedinesse of the same, by some of his neerest kindred who thought to have had the next Advowson thereof, had so good an opinion of the honesty of *Ariosto*, as he offred to resigne the same unto him, during his life, & to sojourne with him rather then with any of his own friends. *Ariosto* in some sort accepted of his kind proffer, perswading him to resign it unto one of his brethren, because he liked not (as I told you before) to be a Churchman, which when he could not by any meanes bring the old Priest unto, he then got him to bestow it upon another honest man fit for the place.[23]

Thinking this meanes to be the onely best,
By which his life might in most safetie rest.
I thankt him for it, yet did all I could,
That he to thee or *Alexander* would,
(Whose nature in no opposition stands,
With holy orders or with holy hands)
His right and intrest passe, but t'would not be,
Nor to my motions would his sense agree.
Nor you, nor his owne kindred would be trust,
But (like himselfe) thought all men were unjust:
Onely my selfe above a world he chose,
And on my faith did all his trust repose:
But when I saw from him I could not have it
To doe you good; unto a third I gave it.[24]
Many I know will me condemne therein,
Sith (careless) I refuse such good to winne.
The rather, sith preferment in it is,
Whose pathes who treads can never honor misse.
[r] Those poore religious wormes scarse profitable,
Simple, unlearned, weake, unfit, unable,
Base and despis'd, contem'd of greatest part,
Have got on best deserts so much the start,

---

[r]He taxeth religious men, who under the colour of humility are growne so proud, as the greatest monarchs are glad to humble themselves unto them.

As greatest kings are glad they may adore them,
And blest is he that most may fall before them.
But who so holy or so wise hath beene,
As in his life no fortune hath ore seene?
Either in little or in much I know,
Theres none that can himselfe so perfit shoe.
Each man his humor hath, and this is mine,
[s] Before I will my libertie resigne,
The richest hat in Rome I would refuse,
Though King or Cardinall they should me chuse.
What good to me is got by highest place,
Or at the Table to receive most gracé?
If thence I rise no better satisfi'd,
Then he which in the meanest roome doth bide:
So though my head with waight downe burdned be,
Of miters stor'd with pretious Jewelrie,
What doth it me availe, if for all this
True joy and quietnes of mind I misse?
Let others thinke it a beautitude,
That they are sought unto, observ'd and su'd,
That armies of attendants doe them grace,
Treading their steps through every publike place,
Whilst all the people with astonisht eies,

---

[s]He priseth his libertie at a higher rate then to be the wealthiest Cardinall in all Rome.

Stare to behold their flattred majesties.
Yet I suppose them idle vanities,
Yea worse, even worst of earthly miseries.
I am so foolish mad, that oft I say,
In brothel Rome the Lord is every way,
More slave then is his slave, man to his man;
And tis most true, deny it who so can.
The bondage wherein servingmen do stand,
Is barehead to obey each sleight command,
To run or ride with him, which once expir'd,
There nothing else is at his hands required.
This being done, he may go where he please,
Frolick or game, revell or rest at ease.
[t] Only his care is, that at everie leasure,
He cannot see his wench, or have that pleasure.
Else as he list, he may go sport about,
Either with company or else without.
On foote or horseback (if he money have)
Be civill, or else swagger like a knave.
In market, in the Taverne, in Th'exchange,
Or in the brothell if he list to range.
Cloathes he may weare, of cullers light or darke,
Go as he please; he is not envies marke,

---

[t] In Rome every base fellowe hath his mistres, which he keepeth *Ala posta*, as they terme it.

None take exception gainst him, he may go
Naked, if naked he himselfe wil shoe;
Whereas his Lord (because he will have place,
To suit his ranke, and give his glories grace)
Doth leave the safer seate, and though he gaine
More honor, yet doth lesser wealth retaine.
With profit lesse, and yet with greater charge,
He steares the helme in vaine expences barge.
Many he feedes, sith many on him tend,
Though his revenues are but small to spend:
For count his first fruits with his bribes and all,
Many yeares profits doe to ruine fall.
Adde unto this how he in debt doth stand,
For furnishing his house at second hand.
His gifts to courtiers (but in courtesie)
Chiefly to that great patron *Simonie*,
Who is his chiefest saint and advocate,
Because he best doth know his purses state.
But all the sport is, when his holinesse
Sends to imploy him in some seriousnes.
O then, if any of his followers misse,
He cannot go, the way forbidden is.
If that his coach be not in sight at hand,
Or if his moiles doe not most ready stand,
If any thing be orderlesse displac't,
He rages straight, his honor is disgrac't:

If one rude wrinckle in his gowne be found,
Tis to his place more then a deadly wound:
[§]His servants must in comely equipage,
March two and two according to their age:
When if the basest groome in all his traine,
His very scullion but behind remaine,
He sweares as though he gave the world this tuch,
That hee's divine, he nameth God so much.
Out doth he cry he is discredited,
If by such slaves he be not followed.
[25]On no Evangelist he now doth looke,
(Good man) his age cannot indure his booke.
Onely he doth devise how he may spend
Little; and how his living he may mend,
To draw the bowe too farre, breakes it in twaine,
And thriftie sparing is the Lord of gaine.
I will not say but divers there may be,
That have both offices and lands in fee.
Who live at harts ease farre beyond the best,
Free from disturbance, tumult or unrest:
Nor horse, nor beast, nor man he scarsly keepes,
Whilst with a full purse he securely sleepes:

[§]It is the manner of the Cardinals and Princes of Italie when they goe in pompe through the streets, to have their followers and lackeys to goe two and two before them, the worst first, and the better sort after.

But there are fewe of those, for in these daies,
He's blest that lives content with his owne ease;
Now he[26] thats plum'd with sterne ambitions wings,
And up to heaven his cogitations flings,
He never with his owne estate is pleased,
But shapes new scales by which he will be raised;
From Bishop straight he hath a wishfull hope
To climbe to be the second next the Pope:
When he hath that got will he then be quiet?
No; for his stomack must have choicer diet.
He now aimes at the seate Pontificall,
To tread on kings on Emperours and all;
But when he hath obtaind this blessed chaire,
Will he be pleased then and free from care?
Neither: for now his children and his friends
To places of great honor he commends;
When he was poore he scarse was knowne to any,
Now beeing Pope he is a kin to many:
Yet from the Epyrots, nor from the Greeke,
To give them kingdomes doth he ever seeke,
Neither of Africk nor of Barbarie
Plotteth to give them any soveraigntie;
Nor will he strive to pull the Pagans[27] downe,
And to impale his kinsmen with their crowne,
To purchase which all *Europe* is at hand,

Furnisht with men and money at command,
Whilst he but acts what doth to him belong,
Weakning the Turks, making the Christians strong.
He rather seekes by trechery and art,
[x] The noble *Colonessi* to subvert,
Or to extirp *Ursinos* princely name,
To gaine all *Talliacorzos* worthy fame;
As from the other he got Palestine,
By royall policie surnamd divine:
Whilst in the mean time drunk with Christian blood,
He sits and triumphs in his ample good,
Some he sees strangled, some their heads do lose,
And every thing quite topsie turvie goes.
Nor will he sticke to give all Italie,
A pray to France, to Spaine or Germany;
And making a confusion of each thing,
[y] It shall go hard but one halfe he will bring
Unto his bastard blood, nor doth he care
Tho th'other part fall to the Divels share.
[30]Then flies abroad excommunications,
Like vollies of great shot, in strangest fashions:
Then roares the buls worse than the Basan host,

---

[x]The names of the two chefest and most antient houses of the Colonessi & the Ursini.[28]

[y]Here *Ariosto* is very plaine with the Popes & their kindred.[29]

Whilst Belles and bookes and candles curses bost.
Hence Indulgence and pardons have beene found,
To be of warres the instruments and ground.
[z] From hence with gold the bearded Muffe is prest,
Of all his valures power to shoe the best.
And hence the drunken Dutchman who for pay,
Is hir'd in right or wrong or any way,
These must have gold (without which thei'le not fight),
And all this charge doth on the subject light.
Oft have I heard (and doe beleeve the same)
By those which know the trueth of every fame:
That neither Bishop, no nor Cardinall,
Nor yet the Pope, who is the head of all,
Had ever money to supply their want,
But that the end grew niggardly and scant.
But let this go, times now are at such passe,
That though one be a foole, a dolt, an asse,
Base of conditions, and (if't may be) worse,
Yet if he have a well fild heavie purse

---

[z]The Swizzers or Muffes are those people which the antient Historiographers (as *Cesar* & others) call Helvetians, they have their habitations in the most high hils of Jura, names S. Claude, they are a race of men naturally warlik & rude, & for the sterrillitie of their country more given to grasing then to tillage. They are free of themselves, sometimes they were under the Duke of Austria, & now are subject unto no Prince, but live of themselves. They are divided into thirteene comminalities, called Cantons, & will be hired of any Prince for money to fight in their warres, but it right or wrong they never respect the same, so they be well paid, and have their pay truely.[31]

He may doe what he list, nor neede he care
What others of his actions shall declare:
Yet those which hoard most, and have most to give,
Most commonly most wretchedly doe live.
Witnesse the starved houshold, who with griefe
Complaine their ruines, yet find no reliefe.
The more the wealthy wittie courtier holds,
The lesse unto the worlds eie he unfolds.
Of foure parts of his living, three he will
Be sure (all charges borne) to coffer still.
[a] A mans allowance or of bread or biefe,
Is halfe a pound of either for reliefe:
And that (God knowes) is either tough or crusty,
Or hardly mans meate, being old and musty.
Now as his bread and flesh is of worst sort,
So thinke his drinke deserves as vile report,
Either it is like vinegar most tarte,
Or Rasor-like it makes the pallat smart;
Either in taste or relish tis so small,
That it hath lost both colour, strength and all.

---

[a]The gentlemen of Italie for the most part keepe no table for their followers as they doe here in England, but hire them by the months, giving them so many crownes every foure weeks as they agree upon, & every morning they come into their masters hall, where they have certain equall allowance of bread and wine, which (God knowes) is but course and small, every one severally to himselfe, and that is all he shall have for that day.

Or to be breefe, in ilnes tis beyond

The puddle water or the stinking pond:

[b] Yet had a man sufficiency of foode,

And at his pleasure drinke to doe him good:

Though they were homely and indifferent,

His grief were lesse, and time much better spent:

But both beeing bad, and of that bad no store,

Needs must the hart break or else covet more.

But thou wilt say, a servant that is wise,

Will beare with this and smoothly temporise,

Because that scale which raiseth up his Lord,

Doth some advancement to him selfe afford,

And as the master mounts the man shall rise,

If with discretion he his wrongs disguise.

But such like fortunes are not generall,

For they like blazing comets seldome fall.

"Honors change maners, new Lords makes new lawes

"And all ther servants to their purpose drawes.

"Old servants like old garments are cast by,

---

[b]Some great estates there are in Italie, as Barrons and Bishops that keepe a table for their followers, but their cheare with their bread and wine, is so bad as it doth them little goode, and the rather because they can never eat their bellies full, for the steward sitting at the table, assoone as ever he holdeth up his white staffe, (which is the signe of his office) straight the cloth is taken up, & they are forct to rise from the board, when oftentimes they have not halfe eaten what would satisfie nature, & this is the cause instead of saying grace, that they fall a cursing when they leave the table.

"When new adorne them with more majestie.

"Service is no inheritance we know,

"For he and beggerie in one base ranke doe go.

§A chamberlen, a steward and a caiter,

A secretarie, a carver, and a waiter,

Thy Lord must have to beautifie his daies,

When thine age can supply not one of these,

Then maist thou thinke that thou art highly loved,

If from his service thou art not removed:

Tis well for thee if thou canst find that grace,

To live as thou hast done still in one place.

A livery once a yeare, and nobles foure,

Is a brave price for serving til foure score:

And then tis ten to one that beg thou must,

Therefore unto thy selfe, not others trust.

How rightly spake that honest Mulitar,[32]

When comming into Rome from regions farre,

He in the evening heard as he did passe,

That his owne Lord for Pope elected was.

Ah (quoth the slave) to speake unpartiall,

Twas best with me when he was Cardinall,

My labour then was little or else none,

---

§Under these ordinary houshold offices he taxeth the curiosity of the Italians, who wil invent strange and new found offices, that the best experienced are new to seeke how to discharge them.

Having but two poore moiles to looke upon.
Now shall my toile be double or else more,
And yet my wages paid worse then before.
If any think because my Lord is Pope,
That I on great advancements ground my hope,
Let him but give my one chicken or lesse,
And all my rasures he shall full possesse.
[33]No no, the wealthier that the Master proves,
So much the lesse his oldest slaves he loves.
In Naples where Nobility doth flowe, The Tale.
(Though little wealth doth with their greatnes goe)
There was of good descent a prettie Lad,
That from his tender yeares still followed had
A Lordly cavalier, who promisd him
(As courtiers breathes can smoothly speak & trim)
That he no sooner should advanced be,
To any place of worth or dignitie,
But that his page should rise as he did mount.
And for the youth had spent the first account
Of his lives glory, sith since he presumed
Upon this hope full thirtie yeares consumed.
His Lord now bids him be of merrie cheare,
For nothing that he held should be too deare.
The honest servant thinking all was gold
Shind in such words, himselfe content doth hold.

Now whilst the hungry master and the man,
Gazd to behold which way preferments ranne;
It hapt the Naples king (through some request)
Him of his privie chamber did invest.
No sooner was he in his wisht for roome,
But he forgot his auntient trusty groome,
And prided with his fate now entertaines,
New gallants with brave cloathes and better meanes.
His old true page was in oblivion throwne,
And nought save noveltie was to him knowne.
Which he perceiving, taking time and place,
Unto his Lord he breakes his heavy case,
Humbly intreats him that he would remember
His honest service, and some merit render
To his expence of time, and wasted store,
As he with earnestnesse had vowd before.
To whom the surly *Neopolitan*,
Taking him sharply up, thus briefe began:
Fellow, the world is chang'd from that it was,
When I was scarce my self, then thou mightst passe
And ranke with my dependants: but as now
Thou canst not do it, nor may I allow
Thy basenes so high place, sith it is fit,
My men be of more meanes, more doome & wit.
Yet nerethelesse since thou hast serv'd me long,

And that I will not do thy labours wrong,
Countnance, but no reward thou shalt possesse,
Sith thou art old, and even servicelesse.
The honest man being gald thus impiously,
Returnes his Lord (with griefe) this short reply.
Could I your best imploiments serve before,
When (save my selfe) you kept no creature more?
And now that you have many, may not I
My place with as great diligence supply?
Hath all my practise and experience
Brought me no wit, but tane away my sense?
Now when my paines expected their advance,
Must my reward be nought but countenance?
Have I consum'd my lives best floures with you,
My youth and manhood, to reap this poore due?
But youle abandon me I do perceive.
Well, me you shall not, for tis you ile leave.
Nor you, nor others, nor no time shall say,
You me dischargd, Loe I put you away.
"No greater plague can hang on servitude,
"Then to be chaind, to base ingratitude.
And here withal away poore soule he went,
Mourning his service, and his time misspent.
By this true story wit may plainely see,
What servants are, and what these Courtiers be.

"Youth spent in Court, oft brings age to poore state
"Past service, past reward, that's servants fate.
I rather would be king of mine owne grave,
Then unto greatest greatnesse be a slave.
"To live of others lendings is most base,
"In Court to daunce attandance is disgrace.
I like not prison musicke, nor such mirth,
Free was I borne, free will live on earth.
"He is truely rich that hath sufficient,
"And hating envy liveth with content.
Yet libertie exceeds the gaine of wealth,
And therefore I will onely serve my selfe.

The third Satyre[1]

THE ARGUMENT.

In this Satyre (as in the other before) hee condemneth the service of the Popes Court, grieveth that the promises made unto him by Leo *(the tenth of that name) were not performed: sheweth the discontentments that arise by gathering together of riches. And lastly enveigheth against the covetousnesse and wicked lives of the Roman Courtiers.*

Written to the Lord Hanibal M.

Since ([a] noble *Hanibal*) thou wil'st me write,
[b] How I of Duke *Alphonsos* service like:
Or whether having laid old burthens by,
New waights presse on my back as heavily:
Or if they lighter be, for I do know, 5

---

[a]This *Hanibal Mallaguzo* was a noble man of Regio, a City in Lumbardy, belonging unto the Dukedome of Ferara, and kinsman unto *Ariosto*, whose mother was of that house.[2]

[b]After the death of Cardinall *Hypolito*, *Alphonso* Duke of Ferara, allured *Ariosto* by all the meanes he could, unto his court, using him more like a companion then a servant, offering him divers offices of preferments to allure him to serve in ordinarie, which with much ado he was content to do, & which he did rather for his countries sake, & by reason of the love he bare unto the place where he was borne, then for any great gaine he got by following of him, as he himselfe setteth downe in his Satyre.

If you shall heare creations of new woe,
Proceed from my complaints, you will conceive,
That I am barbarous, and unto me cleave
Ulcers which will not heale, or like a jade,
That I am dull, (though nere so much of made.)
Then to speake freely with infranchis'd mind,
[c] Both of my burthens, I like heavy find,
And thinke I had bin blest, if unto neither
I had beene subject, sith I lose by either.
Say then (since I have broke my backe with all,
Like a good Asse, thats laden till he fall)
Say that my spirits heavy, dull and ill,
Say both in jest and earnest what you will:
Yet when you have said what you list or can,
I will speake truth, and be an honest man.
[3]But had I plaid the paricide or slave,
And brought my father to an early grave,
[d] In wealthy *Regio*, or but that have thought,
Which *Jupiter* against great *Saturne* wrought:
Onely that I alone within my hand,
Might hold his wealth, his living and his land:

---

[c]Meaning that hee is discontented as much with following the Duke as he was with belonging unto the Cardinall his first Lord & master.

[d]Regio is a City (as I said before) subject unto Ferara, it was first built by *Marcus Lepidus* one of the Triumverats of Rome.[4]

Which now mongst brothers & mongst sisters be
Divided into ten parts equally:
I nere had plaid the foole as did the frog,
That for the stork, did change his kingly log:[5]
Nor had I wandred to seeke forth my fate,
Or crept for favour to each great estate.
[§]I had not learnt the Apes duck with my head,
Nor crooked cringing curtsie should be stead.
But since I was not borne heire to my sire,
Nor that his lands fell unto me entire:
[e] Since I perceive that subtill *Mercury*,
Was neare my friend, but rather enemie:
And that (against my will) I am nereth'lesse
Compeld to live on others bounteousnesse:
I thinke it better, that I do retaine
Unto the Duke, and be of his great traine:
Then to a lower fortune make my moane
Although my meanes and rising are all one,
Hardly so much, as his who is most poore,
And askes the misers almes from dore to dore.

[§]It is the custome of the Italians when they salute any great Personage to ducke downe their heads or crompe them into their shoulders after such a superstitious manner of adoration, that the Poet taxeth them of infinite hypocrisie.

[e]Meaning he was but poore, considering the great charge he had, for the Astronomers hold opinion, that he which is borne under that planet shall be very rich and wealthy.[6]

Few I do know are of my thoughts or mind
And fewer of mine humours I do find.
Most thinke to be a Courtier is most brave,
I say a Courtier is a glorious slave.
Let such be Courtiers, as by Courts can rise,
To me they are bright suns, and blind mine eies,
Farre will I live aloofe from these great fires,
If strength of fortune strengthen my desires.
"Never one saddle one each horse we place,
"Nor doth one garment every body grace.
"Beasts are not for one use in generall,
"For some we see beare much, some nought at all.
The cage is to the Nightingale a hell,
The Thrush and Black-bird both do love it well:
The Robin red-brest rob'd of libertie,
Growes sad and dies with inward melancholy.[7]
Who seekes to be a Cardinall or Knight,
And that great honours on his house may light,
Let him go serve the Pope or some great King,
Whil'st I live safe, and hunt no such vaine thing.
I am as well contented with the meat,
Which (though but grosse) in mine owne house I eate:
And thinke a carrot root doth tast as well,
Which doth of vinegar or pepper smell:
As if of foule or fish, or other bables,

I had even glewd my selfe to great mens tables.
And I as well can rest my drowsie head,
Upon a quilte, as on a downie bed:
And under rugs, as much safe quiet hold,
As under Turkie workes, Arras or gold.
Rather had I at home stay with my rest,
Save my poore skin from scars, & know me blest,
§Then vaunt that I had seene the India land,
Or frozen Scythia, or the AEthiop strand.
So many men, so many mindes we say,
Each one delighting in his severall way,
Some will religious be, some marshall bent,
Some travell, some at home live with content,
Yet he thats pleas'd to be a traveller,
Let him behold each country far and neere:
§Rich Fraunce, sweet England, fruitfull Germany,
Proud Spain, Greece spoild with Turkish tirany.
As for my selfe, at home Ile live alone,
And like no country better then mine owne.

---

§The west Indiaes, which is that fourth part of the worlde now called *America*, being newly found out and discovered by *Cortez* a Spanyard, was so much admired by the Italians, that they almost esteemed him more then a man that had seene those countries.

§The Poet out of his affection to these countries, giveth them those Epithetons which he knew to be most naturall and properly belonging unto them.

Yet have I seene how Lumbardy doth stand,
And all Romania, and the Tuscan land.
Besides, that mountaine mightie huge & tall,
Which locks up Italy as in a wall,
And both those Oceans beating on each side,
I have beheld, and yet no danger tride.
And this contents me well, for other cost,
Or greater travels whence mine ease is lost,
[§]I can with *Ptolomie* behold them all,
In every sort, unite or severall.
All seas I likewise can behold and see,
(Without vow making in extremitie,
When heaven threats, with speaking thunder claps)
More safely in our moderne painted maps,
Then when I shall a rotten vessell enter,
And my poore life to certaine danger venter,
The Dukes service, I take it as it is,
Which if't be good, tis better much by this.
In that he seldome from his Court doth part,
And so is friend to study and to art.
Nor doth he seeke to draw me from that place,
Where my lodg'd heart doth live in its best grace.
But now me thinkes I see you all this while,

[§]Ptolomie was a king of AEgipt, and the first that ever writ the most absolutest work either in Astronomy or else in Cosmography.[9]

How at my words and reasons you do smile.
Saying, that it is neither countries love
Nor study, which incites me not to move.
But tis my M^rs. eye that onely blinds me,
And in these everlasting love-knots binds me.[10]
Well, I confesse the truth, tis so indeed,
(And then confession, better proofes not need)
Tis most true, I list not to contend,
Or any falshood with my sword defend,
What ere the reason be, I stirre not out,
Or like a pilgrime walke the world about.
It is sufficient that it doth me please,
Nor would I other have themselves disease
About mine actions, since my selfe knowes best,
Why I do heere with homely quiet rest.
Some will object, and in their wisedom say,
That if to Rome I had kept on my way:
And aim'd at Church promotions, I might then
Have farre exceeded many other men:
So much the rather, as I was approved,
[f] To love the Pope, and was of him beloved:
As having of his first acquaintance beene,
Long ere he had his daies of glory seene:

---

[f]This was Leo the 10 a Florentine born of the house of Medices, and was of familiar acquaintance with *Ariosto.*[11]

Which came to him for vertue, or through chance

And therefore reason he should me advance.

Yea long before the Florentines set ope,

Their gates to entertaine him,[12] or that hope

[g] Moved worthy *Julian* his ennobled brother,

In *Urbins* Court, his losses to recover.

[h] Where with learnd *Bembo*, and *Castilian* sage,

Apollos haire, flowers of that formall age,

He spent the daies of his first banishment,

In great delight of thought and hearts content.

And after when this subtill *Medicy*

Over their Country us'd his tirany.

---

[g] *Julian de Medices*, and *Peter* were brethern to Pope *Leo* the 10, who made the foresaid *Julian* Duke of Nemours, & maried him to Lady *Philibert* of Savoy, aunt to *Francis* the French King, the first of that name. This man before his brother was Pope, being banished with the rest of thier family, out of Florence were entertained with great kindnes by *Francesco Maria*, duke of Urbin, who in their exile did them al the honors that might be, notwithstanding al which curtesies, *Leo* coming to be Pope most unkindly drave the aforsaid duke out of his country at the perswaisions of *Alphonsina*, mother to his Nephew *Laurence*, on whom he bestowed the dukedom, who did continue in the same until *Adrian* the 6, that succeeded *Leo*, expulsed him, & restored *Francesco Maria* the true owner to the estate again, who enjoyed it until he died, being the space of 16 yeares, in so great reputation, that all the Princes of Italy both loved & honored him to many of which he was entertained as general in their wars, but he was so great a builder, & so liberal to his Souldiers, that when he died he left no money behind him.[13]

[h] *Bembo* was borne in a Castel in Lumbardy, called *Arralano*, he was an excellent Poet & Orator, he was Secretary to Pope *Leo* the 10. and at last was created Cardinal, he died in Padua, his monument being in S. *Francisses* Church, in the City where hee lieth buried; by *Castilian*, he meaneth Count *Balthasar Castilian* who made that excellent peece of worke called the Courtier.

[i] When the Gonfalconer forsooke the Court,
Leaving his place, his honours and his port,
Till *Leo* unto Rome did make repaire,
And was installed in St. *Peters* chaire.
In all which time, to none he shewd such grace
As unto me, whom he did ever place
Next to himselfe, affirming I and none
Was else his friend and best companion:
So that in ranke of favour, I alone,
Stood still unseconded of any one.
Besides, when he as Legat[15] first did passe
To Florence, this his protestation was:
That I as deerely in his favour stood,
As did his brother, or his best of blood.
These circumstances well considered,
And every favour rightly ordered,
Though some of little value will esteeme them,
Yet others of more better price may deeme them.
And thinke if I would daine to Rome to goe,

---

[i] The Medicy having gotten the Emperours army, (who then was in Italy) to repose them in Florence, and to cal them home into their City againe, divers of the Citizens were against it, especially *Peter Soderine*, who was then Gonfalconer, (which was the chief officer of that City) but in the end they were inforced to admit them, and the aforesaide *Peter* glad to leave his authority, and hardly escaped with life from out the palace, at what time (not long after) what by faire meanes of *Leo* the tenth their kinsman, and afterwards by favour of *Charles* the fift. they seazed upon the whole estate, and after got to be absolute Princes thereof, as at this day they are.[14]

And to his holinesse my fortunes shoe:
Doubtlesse I might obtaine for recompence,
Any faire suit of worthy consequence.
And that at my first motion or request,
A Bishopricke were granted at the least.
But they which think, such great things so soone got,
With judgement nor with knowledge reckon not.
And therefore with a pretty history,
I will to such men give a short reply:
Which hath in writing put me to more paine,
Then any man in reading shall attaine.
Long since, there was a scortch Sommer seene, A tale.
Which burnt the parcht earth with his beames so keene:
That it was thought *Phoebus* once more had given
His Chariot to his bastard to be driven.[16]
For every plant and hearb was dead and dride,
Nor any greenes on the ground was spide.
No fountaine, spring nor poole, or low or hie,
But had his veines stopt up and now stood drie:
So that through rivers, chanels and great lakes,
Men their long journeies safely dry-shod takes.
In this hot time a wealthy swaine did live,
(Or rather stile of poore I may him give)
Who had great store of cattell and of sheepe,
But wanted moisture them alive to keepe,

Who having long searcht every hopeful ground,
(Althogh in vaine) where moisture might be found:
He now invokes that God omnipotent,
(Whose eares on faithful orizons are bent)
And he by inspiration in a dreame,
Grants ease unto his griefes that were extreame:
Telling him that not farre from that dry land
Within a certaine valley nere at hand,
He should such store of wholsome water finde,
As should give ease and comfort to his minde.
The swaine at this, takes children and his wife,
And all his wealth (the second to his life)
Leaves neither slave, nor houshold stuffe behind,
But hasts the blessed vallies help to find;
Where he no sooner came, but in the ground
He causd to dig, and water did abound.
But now he wants wherewith to take it up,
And therefore is inforc't to use a cup,
A little cup, whose little quantitie,
Hardly did serve one draught sufficiently.
Which as he held, he said, now my hot thirst
Ile coole, sith it is reason I be first.
The next draught doth unto my wife belong,
Next to my children (if I doe not wrong:)
When they have done, my servants shall begin,

Each as his merit and desart doth winne.
And as they have bestird themselves with paine,
To make this well, from whence this good we gaine.
This said, he then upon his cattel thought,
The best whereof, he meanes shal take first draught:
And those which leanest were should be the last,
(He thus his damage and his profit cast.)
When every thing was ordred in this fashion,
He tasts the water first and cooles his passion,
Next him his wife, his children followed than,
(As he had made the lawe) man after man.
Now every one fearing the waters losse,
Began to presse about him, and to crosse,
His fellowes merit where most worth was cast,
All would be first, none willingly the last.
When this a little parret[17] had survaid,
With whom this wealthy shepheard often plaid,
And had in times past made it all his joy,
Taking delight onely with it to toy.
And when it wel had understood their strife,
It clamord forth, ah woe is my poore life.
I nor his sonne, nor of his servants am,
Nor for to dig this well I hither came:
Nor can I other profit to him bring,
Then foolish mirth, and idle wantoning.

And therefore must be quite forgot of all,

And made the last on whom last lot must fall.

My thirst is great as theirs, my death as nie,

Unlesse I can to better safetie flie,

Therefore I must elsewhere seeke my releefe,

And so away he flies with all his greefe.

My Lord I doe beseech you, with this storie,

Pack from your eares, those fooles that from vaine glory,

Thinke that his holinesse wil me raise before,

[k] The *Neri, Vanni, Lotti,* and some more.

His bastards, Nephewes, kinne and other such,

Shall quench their thirsts ere I the water touch.

Nay there shall step betwixt me and my hope,

All those whose helping hands did make him Pope.

When these have drunk, their steps forth to be served,

Whole bands of martialists halfe pinde and sterved.

That gainst stout *Soderine*[19] did weapons beare,

Making his passage into Florence cleare.

[l] One boasts that he in Casentino was

With *Peter*, when he scarce from thence could passe

---

[k] These are noble families in Florence, which were great friends to the Medices.[18]

[l] The country of Cassentino amidst the which runneth the river Arno, it is a territory narrowe, barraine and full of hils seated at the foote of the Appenine mountaines, of which Bibiena is the cheefe towne, this the Medici went about to surprise when they were Banditi & banished from their country, but beeing repulst by the Florentines army, which

[m] With his lifes saftie, whilst *Brandino* cries,

I lent the money which his honors buies.

[22]An other doth aprove, t'was onely hee

Maintained his brother with a yearely fee:

And at his proper charges did provide,

Both horse and armour, and what else beside.

Now if whilst these drinke I stand gazing by,

Either of force the well must be drawne drie:

Or else my thirst my bodies health must slay,

Sith stil such violence brookes no delay.

Well, tis much better to live as I do,

Then to aprove if this be true or no.

Or whether fortunes fooles which waite upon her,

Doe drinke of Lethe when they rise to honour.

Which though it be most true that fewe do climbe,

But they forget the daies of former time,

Yet can I hardly say his holinesse,

---

[1](cont.) then kept them out, they escaped from thence not without great danger of losing their lives. The cheefe captaine of this company, was this *Peter* brother to Pope *Leo*, who afterward was most unfortunately drowned as he was going towards Caieta not farre from Naples, He was elder brother to Pope *Leo* and *Julian di Medices*, which three were sonnes to that famous *Laurence di Medices*, of whom *Guychardine* in the beginning of his historie maketh most honourable mention of, *Cosimo* the great being their great grandfather, who was a citizen of singular wisedome and of infinite wealth.[20]

[m]*Brandino* is the surname of a rich familie in Florence, whose cheefe wealth consisteth in money, and who lent great store of coine unto the Medices when they were in want.[21]

Hath drunke much water of forgetfulnesse.
No I may well protest the contrary,
Since I did find that in his memory
I held my place, and when his foote I kist,
He with a smiling countnance prest my wrist,
Bowd downe his fore-head from his holy chaire,
And gave me words of grace, and speeches faire,
He gently stroakt my cheekes and did me blisse,
And on them both bestowed a sacred kisse.
[n] Besides he did bestowe that Bull on me,
Which *Bibiena*[23] after seriously
Dispacht, and got, although I yet did pay
Some bribes before I was dismist away:
But being done, and I joyd therewithall,
(All wet through raine & stormes which then did fall.)
Unto Montano[24] fast I rode that night,
Where I reposd with merry hart and light.
Thus curteous words and speeches I had many,
But other favours I possest not any.
But say twere true the Pope should keep his word
And to me all his promises afford,
That I might reape the fruits which I did sow,

---

[n] *Ariosto* sheweth himselfe to be of a good nature, which tooke so thankfully so small a reward, considering how much he had deserved at the Medices hands.

Both now and elsewhere many yeares agoe:
Imagine with more Miters and read hats
He would adorne me, and with greater stats,
Then ever at the Popes great solemne masse,
Hath or beene seene or ever given was.
Nay say he fild up all my bags with gold,
And cramd my chests as ful as they could hold:
Shall yet th' ambition of my greedy minde,
Enough contentments for her humors finde?
Or shall this quench my thirsts consuming fire?
Or wil my thoughts take truce with her desire?
No; I from Barb'rie to Catay wil goe,
From Dacia, where seven headed Nile doth flow:
Not Rome alone must hold my soveraignty,
So of my affections I might master be:
And so I might have power and both be able,
To tame my thoughts, and hopes unsatiable.
But when I shall a §Cardinall be instald,
Or what is more, servant of servants cald,
Nay when I shall above the Pope be spi'd,
And yet my minde rest still unsatisfi'd.

---

§The Cardinals in the daies of Loe the tenth were so extremely ambitious that divers Pasquils were set up against them, and some against the Popes themselves, as namely that of *sol, re, me, fa, solus rex me facit,* alluding that the old King of Spaine at his infinite intercession had onely made him Pope.[25]

To what end then should I so much disease me,
Or toile my selfe for that which wil not please me?
Tis better privatly to live, then thus
To vex and greeve for titles frivolous.
I speake not this as though my selfe were he,
Whose nature could with no content agree:
But to this end, that sith all greatnes ever,
Both in this endlesse Avarice persever,
(Who though they all possesse, yet more doe crave,
As if they would imploy them in the grave.)
I thinke its better live a private life,
Then wealth to hold with unabated strife.
Then when this world was in her infancy, A tale.[26]
And men knew neither sin nor treacherie;
When cheators did not use to live by wit,
Nor flattery could each great mans humour fit,
A certaine nation (which I knew not well)
Did at the foot of an high mountaine dwell,
Whose top the heavens counsailes seem'd to know,
(As it apear'd to them that liv'd below)
These men observing how the moone did rise,
And keep her monthly progress through the skies:
And yet how with her horned forehead she
Alterd her shape, her face and quantitie,
They straight imagin'd if they were so hie,

As the hils top, they easly might espie,
And come where she did dwell to see most plaine,
How she grew in the full, how in the waine.
Resolv'd thereon, they mount the hill right soone,
With baskets and with sackes to catch the moone,
Striving who first unto the top should rise,
And make himselfe the master of the prize,
But mounted up, and seeing that they were
As farre off as before, and neere the neare,
Wearie and feeble on the ground they fall,
Wishing (though wishes are no help at all)
That they had in the humble valley staid,
And not like fooles themselves so much dismaid.
The rest of them which did remaine belowe,
Thinking the others which so high did show,
Had toucht the Moone, came running after then
By troopes and flocks, by twenties and by tenne:
But when the senselesse misconceit they found,
Like to the rest they wearie fell to ground.
This loftie mountaine is the Wheele of fate,
Upon whose top sits roializd in state,
(As ignorance and follie doth suppose)
All quietnesse, al peace, and sweete repose.
But they (alasse) doe all mistake the ground,
For there nor joy is, nor contentment found.

Now if with riches or with honours went
(Like loving twins) the minds desird content:
Then had I reason to commend that wit,
Which were emploid and spent to purchase it.
But when I see both Popes and mightie Kings,
(Who for the soveraignes are of earthly things,
As gods within this world esteemed are)
That they of griefes and troubles have their share,
I needes must say, content they doe not hold,
As long as they have sorrowes manifold.
Should I in wealth the mightie Turke outgoe,
Or boast more glories then the Pope doth know,
And yet still covet higher to aspire,
I am but poore, through that my more desire.
Well tis most reason and our best best wit.
To live of things are competent and fit,
Whereby wee may not pine away with want,
Nor of our needfulst needements to be scant.
For everie one all strength of reasons have,
To nourish life, and not live as a slave:
But if a man be so sufficient rich,
That hee too little hath not, nor too much,
That hath enough his nature to content,
And in desire is not ore vehement:
He that can ease his hunger at his pleasure,

And give each appetite his equall measure:
He that hath fire to warme him when hees cold,
A house to shelter him when he is old:
That when he should ride forth is not compeld,
To lackey spaniel-like through every field,
But to command a horse is alwaies able,
And keepes a man to waite upon his table.
Besides a cleanely houswife that will keepe
His house in comely order neat and sweete:
If this I have, what neede I more request?
For having thus much, I have all the rest.
Enough is never then aboundance lesse,
He that all covets, nothing doth possesse.
Besides this duetie, reason doth demand,
That on strict tearmes of honor we doe stand,
Yet in such sort that we be never found,
T'exceede the golden meane in any bound;
For nothing is on earth more dangerous,
Then to be noted as ambitious.
This is true honour when the world doth cry
Thou art an honest man and so dost die:
Which if thou beest not, it will soone be knowne,
And as thy faults are so thy fame is blowne.
Hypocrisie is woven of fine thrid,
Yet fewe in these daies can in nets be hid.

Because each one right reverend doth thee call,
Or Earle or Baron, Knight or Generall,
I would not have thee thinke they honor thee,
Unlesse more in thy selfe then titles bee.
But when I see thy merits worth doth move
From vertue, then thou shalt enjoy my love.
What glory ist to thee when I behold,
How thou apparel'd art in silkes and gold?
Or that the wondring people with amaze,
As up and downe thou walkest, upon thee gaze?
If afterward, assoone as thou art gone,
And thy backe turn'd, they sing this hatefull song:
[27]See there the man who for a bribe in gold,
The [§]gates of Rome unto the French-men sold:
Which gates to keep, he had of speciall trust,
Yet sold the same, an art base and unjust.
Fie, fie, how many knight-hoods here are bought,
How many Bishoprickes desertless caught?
Which after being knowne abroad become,
The foule disgrace and scandall unto Rome.
To be an honest man in word and deed,
Though on my backe I weare a course plaine weed,
As much doth please me as if I did go,

[§]By this he taxeth those revolting Italians, who tooke part with the Duke of Burbon, when he sackt the city of Rome.

Royally clad in roabes which kingly shoe.
Let him that will or gold or velvet buy,
For I will not with spots of infamy.
[o] But now me thinkes base *Bomba* doth reply,
And unto mine assertions gives the lie:
Saying, let me have riches, I not care,
Or how they come, or how they purchast are:
Come they by villany, by drabs or dice,
Riches are ever of most worthy price.
Vertue is riches bastard, nor do I
Respect, against me what the vulgar cry.
"All men of no man speaketh reverently,
"And some have raild against the diety.
Husht *Bomba* husht, do not flie all so fast,
But flag thy wanton peacocks traine at last,
I tell thee none blaspheme the deity,
But such as are more dam'd in villany,
Then those who naild their maker to the Crosse,
Whose woes eternally do mourne their losse:
Meane space the good and honest sort one word,
Will not of goodnesse to thy fame afford.
They say false cards, false dice, and falser queanes,
Purchast thy livings and thy large demeanes.

---

[o]Under this name he taxeth some notorious & wicked man that grew rich through villanie.[28]

And thou administrest to every tongue,
Matter to talke of, as thou walk'st along:
Wearing and tearing out more cloth of gold,
[§]More silkes and *Tissue* from Arabia sold,
Then all the worthy gallants Rome doth breed,
So much thy pride and riot doth exceed.
Those thefts and cosenages thou shouldst conceale,
Unto the world and me thou dost reveale.
Making even fooles and sillie Infants know,
That cottages where hardly thatch did grow,
Thou in these few yeares palaces hast made,
By thy smooth cheating and thy cosening trade:
The world doth see thy banquets and thy feast,
Where in thou surfet'st like an ore fed beast.
Yet thou conceiv'st that thou a gallant art,
And all that smile on thee do take thy part.
Foole, those same smiles are like the serpents hisse,
And they would kill thee faine which doe thee kisse.
[p] *Borno* (so no man tell him to his face,
How vile he is) beleeves it no disgrace:

[§]The best Silks and Tyssues were in times past brought from Arabia, but now many other countries have as good.

[p]This is also a shadowed name, where by hee biteth at some others of as bad faults as may be.

Although behind his backe he heare men cry,
He hath nor faith, nor love nor piety:
[§]And how that worse then bloudy-handed *Caine*,
He his owne brother tyrant-like hath slaine:
Although an exiles life he hath indured,
Yet all agree'd, all evils now are cured:
And he the whole inheritance hath got,
Without vexation of a partners lot.
Therefore let all men say what all men can,
Heel'e walke the streets (sith rich) an honest man.
[30]Another that's as vile as is the best,
Tiers out his daies with labour and unrest:
Till he have got a Miter in such fashion,
As shames himselfe, his kinne and all his nation:
When he no worthier is to beare the load,
Then a base asse is of a Purple roab.
But knew the world how to this height he came
The very stinke would poyson them with shame.
[31]O times corrupt, O manners worse than nought,
Where nothing but whats vile is sold and bought!
Too true it is, which all the world hath told,
All things at Rome, even heaven for coine is sold.

[§]Here he biteth bitterly his olde Lord and Master, the Cardinall *Hypolito*, for pulling out the eyes of his owne brother *Julio*.[29]

William surnamed *Rufus*, when in hand, A tale.[32]
He swaid the English Scepter at command,
It chanc't a wealthy Abby void did fall,
Whose great demeanes being rich in general,
Many came to the king the same to buy,
(For he did mony love exceedingly)
Now when Church chapmen al were com'd unto him
And with their utmost sums did amply woe him,
He spide a Monke stood halfe behind the dore,
Whom straight he cald, and bade him come before:
Imagining he came as did the rest,
With full fild bags, to make his offer best,
And therefore thus the king most gratiously
Speakes to the Monke; Tell me man willingly,
What thou wilt give; great the revenues are,
And thou free leave to offer for thy share.
My gratious Lord (the old man did reply)
I came not hither this rich place to buy:
For I am poore: or had I wealth at will,
I would not load my conscience with such ill:
As to ingrosse Church livings above other,
Making me rich by robbing of my brother.
Besides, I were an asse to undertake,
To lay too great a burthen on my backe:

Which to support, I know I am unfit,
Both for my learning, industry and wit.
Onely I hither came in humble wise,
To beg of him which to this place should rise,
That I this petty favour might but have,
To be his Priest, his beads-man or his slave.
The King who heard this old man gratiously,
And finding in him true humilitie,
Whence his rare vertues sprang so curiously,
That they exceld his ranke in dignity:
Freely and frankly without recompence,
Gave him this Abbey and dispatcht him thence.
Saying he it deserv'd most worthily,
Sith he so wel could brooke his povertie.
Neither such gift nor King I ere shall know,
Yet such a mind and thoughts within me grow.
I have a mind which harbours calme content,
Voide of all lucre, and from malice bent.
And would I fish for livings, theres no doubt,
But I should easily bring my wish about.
[q] "But home is homely, I am best at ease,
"When I have none but mine owne selfe to please,

---

[q] *Ariosto* was somewhat variable in his desires and a little humorous withall, and therefore would hardly be bound or tied to any thing longer then himselfe listed.

"Riches are still the children of much care,
"Who covets nothing, onely rich men are.
"Great is the labour which doth purchase gaine,
"Greater the sorrow which doth it maintaine.
But once to lose it, even death doth bring:
Ile no such bees which have so sharp a sting.
Sufficient for my selfe is my small store,
And greatest monarches do enjoy no more.

The fourth Satyre[1]

THE ARGUMENT.

He sheweth that it is good and necessary to marry, and yet by the way glaunceth merily at that state of life, shewing how hard a matter it is for a man to keep his wife honest and chast.

Written to the Lord *Hanibal Malaguzzo.*[2]

I Heare[a] by strangers, friends, the world and all,
(Except thy selfe, thrice noble *Hanibal*)
That thou art now about to take a wife,
Knitting these worlds cares to a better life.
I not mislike that so your fancie stands,
Onely I take unkindly at your hands,
That unto me you would not tell your mind,
Since in my counsailes you might comfort find.
Perhaps thou hast conceald it, from this feare,
Lest I should hap t'oppose what thou holdst deare,
Thinking because my selfe unmarried am,
Therefore I marriage wil in others blame.
If so thou censur'st me, thou dost me wrong:
For though I never knew what did belong,

---

[a] *Ariosto* being not given to mary, his kinsman the Lord *Hanibal* was loth to make him privy to his wedding; which hee taketh very unkindly in this Satyre.

To wedlocke: yet I never have withstood,
Those which choose mariage as their chiefest good,
[b] Oft have I griev'd, and yet I sadly mourne,
That then to marry, I have chose to burne.[3]
My selfe excusing that I still was crost,
By hand of Fate, and so my fortunes lost:
For though unto it I was fully bent,
Occasion still my meaning did prevent.
But this hath ever mine opinion beene,
Nor ever shal there change in me be seene:
That man cannot in perfect goodnesse stand,
Unlesse he live within the mariage band.
Nor without women can live free from sinne,
For he which thrusts such guests out of his Inne,
Is either forc't to borrow of another,
Or theefe-like without conscience robs his brother.
[c] Besides, who unto stranger sheets doth cleave,
Turnes Cormorant, and temperance doth leave.
For if to day he feed on larke or quaile,
Next morne, heele have the Phesant or the Raile.

---

[b] He excuseth himself in that he lived a batchellor so long, which hee saith was his hard fortune, and not his fault: although there is no doubt, but if hee had listed, hee might have matched very well, and every way to his contentment.

[c] He could give good counsaile himselfe, but could not follow it, as *Medea* saith in *Ovid.* --- *Video meliora proboque deteriora sequor* ---[4]

And which is worst, he looseth sense of love,
And that sweet touch which charity should move.
[d] Hence comes it, priests of all men are the worst,
Biting like dogs with madnesse made accurst.
[5]The whilest no common Palliard, baud nor slave,
Carries more viler surfets to his grave.
Borrow of all they doe, but none they pay,
Base are their deedes, how well so ere they say.
Againe, in publike cariage and in shoe,
They are so void of judgement, and do goe
So farre from vertue, that I wonder much,
Women will daine but to be toucht by such.
You know tis true, who do in Regio dwell,
But that all truths, for feare you dare not tell.
Bug-beare confession whispering in your eare,
It is damnation to tell all you heare.
Well, though you nothing say, yet from your eies,
I read the depth of all these mysteries,
[e] Of stubborne *Modena* I speake nought at all,
Who though this great plague did upon it fall,
Yet it deserveth to be punisht worse,

---

[d]He enveigheth against some Priests, who lived too much incontinently.

[e]Modena is a City in Lumbardy, subject unto the Dukedome of Ferara (now the Popes) where the Churchmen bare themselves over licentiously and more uncivilly then becommed them. In this town *Sadoletus* and *Molza*, two learned Italians of their time were borne.[6]

May on her and her priests light heavens curse.
But now to you. Elect betimes your mate,
Better too soone to marry then too late.
And since perforce thou needes this life wilt try,
Adventer on it most couragiously.
[f] Do not as did doctor *Buon Leo* old,
Who tooke a wife when all his bloud was cold:
When age had made him for a grave more fit,
Then or for wife or youthfull appetit.
Defer not thou till age come creeping on,
Lest strength consum'd, thy body suffer wrong.
[8]"Old ages Herbingers are snow-white haires,
"Warme drinks & cloathes are good for many yeares:
[9]A cup of wine in withred *Hermons* head,
Is better then a faire maid in his bed:
Age with such liquors often is well eas'd,
Venus with gouts and palsies is not pleas'd.
[§]Faire *Hymeneus* is not painted old,
But youthfull, fresh, with saffron haire like gold:
The old man feeling but some sparkes of fire,

---

[f] A famous Physition of Ferara, who married not til he was all 80 yeares old, & then (doating) tooke a marvellous faire maid unto his wife, and presently after died.[7]

[§] *Hymeneus* by the Peers was fained to be the God of Marriage, and therefore was painted young, to show the vigour and strength which belongeth to the acte of generation, and with yellow roabes, to shew the cares, feares, and jealousies in marriage.

Which with much labour doth but warme desire,
Begins to rouse his Icie spirits up,
[10]As if he had caroust on *AEsons* cup:
Much he imagins he can do, when loe,
Strength doth forsake him, ere his strength he know:
And he poore soule even in his height of pride,
Is conquer'd ere th'encounter he have tride.
Yet so he must not thinke his wife will yield,
Her better spirit better joyes the field.
[11]"Fire with water, never will agree,
"Nor nature will not loose her soveraigntie.
[12]But say it were not so; yet in these daies,
The world being rather given to dispraise,
Then to speake well of any, who are they,
Will marry Winter unto youthfull May?
But they will wish Saint *Lukes* badge on his head,
And that in horne-bookes he be deeply read.
And thus although they merit not this blame,
Yet can they not escape all poisoning fame,
Who for the most part doth of falshoods prate,
But be it false or true tis then too late
To call it home againe, if once the vent,
About the bussing busie world be sent:
And who his honour or good name doth love,
Must patient be for he this crosse must prove.

Yet this bad passion nothing is at all,
But that which we damn'd jealousie do call:
Although tis ill enough when we behold,
An Infant whom the cradle doth infold:
And two or three crope newly from the shell,
Who in their clamours do their grievance tell.
Adde unto these a pretty girle or twaine,
Whom thou in vertues manners seek'st to traine:
Yet hast not any whome thy soule can trust,
Will honest be to them, or to thee just.
But rather will allure them by all meanes,
To vitious living, and to shamelesse straines.
Chuse wisely then, since thou dost know this curse,
[g] And like our Gentlemen be not found worse.
Many of which buried in cloisters low,
Lie hid, while'st grasse doth ore their grave stones grow,
On marriage their minds did never set,
Because they meant not children to beget,
And so be forc't that little to disseaver,
Which scarce would serve, when twas unite together.
That which in strength of youth they did refuse,

---

[g]He findeth fault with divers Gentlemen of Ferara, that were yonger brothers, who because their wealth was little, would not marry when they were young, & yet comming to be old, they made their choice worse, when getting their owne maides and drudges with child, they were after glad to marry them because the children which they had got by them should not be counted bastards.[13]

Now growne in yeares most shamefully they chuse,
Shewing themselves to be so base of mind,
That even in Borish villages they find:
And in the Kitchins greasie scullerie,
With whom to sport themselves lasciviously,
Boyes are begot, which as in yeares they grow,
Such abject vile behaviours from them flow,
That they are forc't to marry them perforce,
Unto Clownes daughters, or to creatures worse,
Even to crackt Chambermaids broke up of late,
Because they would not have their sons in state
Of bastardy, and here hence doth proceed,
That noblest houses in Ferara bleed,
With wounds of tainted honour and with shame,
As all eies do behold which view the same.
This is the cause the worthies of this towne,
Are seldome seene to flourish in renowne
Of vertue, or of valour, or of arts,
And hence it is their auncestors best parts,
I meane those of the worthy mothers side,
Are of their generous qualities so wide.
My Lord, to marry you do passing well,
And yet attend these precepts I shall tell.
First thinke thereof, lest when you would retire,
You cannot, being slav'd unto desire:

[h] In this important matter, most, most great,
Although my counsaile you do not intreat.
Yet I will shew you how a wife to chuse,
And which mongst women wisemen should refuse:
But you perhaps, will wondring smile at me,
And place it with impossibility,
That I this waighty charge should undertake,
Yet never knew what meant the married state.
I pray you tell me; hath not your Lordship seene,
When as two gamsters have at tables beene:
The third man which (as lookers on) stood by,
More to have seene in play then they could spy?
If you do find I shoot nere to the white,
Follow my rules and hold my judgment right:
But if you see I rove far off and wide,
Then both my counsailes and my selfe deride:
And yet before I further doe proceede,
Tis meete, that first this caution I doe reede.
If you to take a wife have strong pretence,
Yet build your ground on naught but lustfull sence,

---

[h] This Poet giveth his friend better counsaile then hee himselfe could follow, for although he would never marry, yet is he noted to have kept at his owne proper charges one *Alexandra*, a proper woman a long time, although his friends say that he was married unto her privily, and durst not bee knowne of it, for feare of loosing some small spiritual livings which he had, and which were not lawfull for any maried man to enjoy.[14]

Twere madnes to perswade you from her love,
Though reasons gainst her honor I could prove.
[15]If she doe please you, then she vertuous is,
Nor any gift of goodnes can she misse:
No Rhethorick, reason, nor no strength of wit,
Can make thee loath when lust rules appetit:
So much thou art besotted on her face,
That reason must to pleasure yeeld her place.
I for a wilfull blinde man am no guide,
But if in lists of wisedome thou wilt bide,
Then scholler-like examine what I say,
And I shall merit thankes another day.
[16]Who so thou art that meanst a wife to take,
(If of thine honor account dost make)
Learne what her mother is, that step begin,
And how her sisters live, how free from sinne:
If we in horses, kine, and such like creatures,
Desire to know their lineall race and natures,
What ought wee then to doe in these, who are
Then other cattell, more deceitfull farre?
A Hare you never saw bring forth a Hart,
Nor doe from Doves nests Eglats ever part.
Even so a mother that is infamous,
Hardly can beare a daughter vertuous.
From trotting races, amblers seldome breede,

From selfe like natures, selfe like things proceede.
Besides the branch is like unto the tree,
And children keep what first they learned be.
[17]"Ill education spoileth maners good,
"Corrupts best natures, and infects the blood.
"Home-bred examples and domestick illes,
"Grafts errors in cleannest brests, & good thoughts kils.
If she perceives her mother to possesse,
Many faire servants she will have no lesse:
Nay she will more have, or her better skill,
Shall leave to be the agent of her will:
And this she doth to show in courtlinesse,
That (then her mother) she is nothing lesse,
And that heaven did with equall bountie place,
Within them both one beautie and one grace,
To know her nurse, and how her life she leades,
What her commercements are, and how she treades:
Whether her father brought her up or no,
If she can play the cooke, weave, worke or sowe,
[i] Or if in idle courts she have remaind,
And there in song and musique hath beene traind.

---

[i]Here *Ariosto* is a little malitious against the court for many gentlewoman, yea & those sort are as well brought up, & as vertuously given, living in the court, as if they had all the daies of their youth beene trained & mewed up in their fathers owne houses, musique and a sweete voice, being two as commendable qualities as can adorne any Lady, only the libertie of courts to diseased minds, is the ground to these inventions.

To judge the better of her vertues this,
And all the rest to know, most needefull is.
Seeke not a wife whose stile and noblenesse
Shall fill thy veines with much vaingloriousnes:
Such oft their husbands unto wrath provoke,
Whilst they to him are nothing else but smoke.
Tis good to match with one thats nobly borne,
So she her husbands birth hold not in scorne.
Such one take thou great Lord as fit shall be,
Both for thy living and thy pedigre:
For hardly thou thy better shalt content,
Unlesse on her dependance much be spent.
A brace of pages, serving gentlemen,
And for her state a flock of gentlewomen,
To keepe their Lady from all faults offence,
Without the which there is no patience.
Nor so content, a dwarfe she needes must have,
A foole, a pandor, and a jesting knave,
With dogs and munkies, parrets and such toies,
Whose idle service, idle time destroies:
With other company for cards and dice,
Whose wits can sort with courtiers that are nice;
Nor when she takes the aire, wil she forth tread,
Without her rich caroche well furnished.
But this last charge is nothing to that cost,

Must on more private toies be vainly lost.
Now if thou no such prodigall fond part,
(Who for of birth and living chiefe thou art
Within thy native home) shalt prove, then know,
The poorer sort such glories dare not show.
If hackneymen doe round about the towne,
Run for to let their coach horse up and downe,
What then will he doe? who at his command
Hath of his owne, which ever ready stand?
If others two horse keepe, the rich will still
Have foure at least, yet thinke the draught but ill.
[18]With such an one thou shalt possesse more care,
[k]Then mine *Orlando* in his madnes bare.
[l] If she shall braule with thee malitiously,
Governe with patience her extremitie,
[§]And as *Ulysses* gainst the Sirens song,
Made himselfe deafe to shelter him from wrong,
So her expostulatings doe not heare,

---

[k]Meaning that an ill wife will make a man mad, as *Orlando* became through the unkindnes of *Angelica*.

[l]Here the Poet setteth downe many excellent rules how a man should choose a wife, and having chosen one, how he should behave himselfe towards her.

[§]It is reported by *Homer* that *Ulysses* returning from the destruction of Troy, being at the Sea, invironed with many Syrens or Mermaides, caused himselfe and all his souldiers to be bound to the masts of the ships, and to stoppe their eares, least the inchantment of their musicke should draw them to destruction.[19]

But gainst such clamarous noise glew up thine eare.
"When she speakes most do thou least speach afford,
"For silence cuts a shrow worse then a sword.
"A froward wife for very spight will cry,
"When thy neglect doth scorne her tyrannie.
Have special care that with no foule-mouthd speach,
Thou mak'st into her fury any breach:
For then thou all confound'st, and one small showre,
Will on thy head a world of newe stormes powre,
Which with such bitternesse she will declare,
That stings of wasps not halfe so noisome are.
Let her as neare as arte or wit can find,
Agree with every humor in thy minde,
That ancient customes in thy house remaine.
And that no danger lurke within her traine,
In being greater then thou canst support,
For things doe fall to ruine in that sort.
I doe not like that beautie whose rare merit
Will praise beyond all excellence inherit.
Nor such a one whose court audacitie,
Beares her beyond all comely modestie.
Twixt faire and foule there is a golden meane,
Unto which path I faine would have you leane.
A loving maide, not lovely strive to chuse;
The faces beautie for the mindes refuse.

Please thy best judgement, tis no matter then,
Though she seeme foule or black to other men.
[m] Her to possesse whose beautie doth exceede,
Doth to all curious eies much sorrowe breede:
For she even frozen harts doth set on fire,
Making them languish in unchaste desire.
A world will venture her faire sorte to spoile,
Wherein albe she give some fewe the foile:
Yet at the last comes one with bribes and praires,
Who so in peeces all her forces teares,
That at the last having no more delay,
She yeelds, and he her honor beares away.
A wife thats more then faire is like a stale,
Or chanting whistle which brings birds to thrall.
[n] Yet on no sluttish foulenes fix thy minde,
For so perpetuall penance thou shalt finde.
Beauties which are indifferent most me move,
Faire which is still most faire I doe not love.
Pure of complexion let her be and good,
And in her cheekes faire circled crimson blood.

---

[m]The Italian hath a praire of such a wife. *Chi ha bianco cavello, et bella moglie, non vive mai senza doglie.* Whose horse is white, and wife is faire, His head is never void of care.[21]

[n]He alludeth to the common saying in Italie. *Fa peccato insieme col penitenza, Chi piglia bruta moglie a credenza.* Who takes a woman foule unto his wife, Doth penance ever, yet sinnes all his life.[22]

Hie colours argue choler and distaste,

And such hot blouds are seldome made to waste.

[o] Let her be milde and wittie, but not curst,

Nor foolish, for of all breedes thats the worst.

None so deformed are, or ugly foule,

As fooles which more are gazd at then the Owle:

For if she any fault abroad commit,

Her long-tongd gossip straight must know of it:

Nothing so private can be done or said,

Which through the whole world shall not bee convaid.

Thus she her husband and her selfe doth bring,

To be a scorne to every abject thing:

Where as the wittie wench so careful is,

There's none shall know albe she doe amisse.

Like to the Cat who buries under ground

Her ordure, lest by men it should be found.

Let her be pleasing, full of curtesie,

Lowly of minde, prides deadly enemie:

---

[o]Theres no ill qualitie so vile in a woman, as to be a foole, for I have oft heard a wise man say, he had rather have a willy wanton, a witty shrow, or a foule slut to his wife, then one that was sottish or foolish, affirming that the first if she did a fault would with discretion hide it. The second with her wit would now and then delight him. The third because of her deformitie, studie and indevor alwaies to please him, but the last which was the foole, would shame both her selfe, her husband and her friends.[23]

Pleasant of speech, seldome sad or never,
And let her countnance cheareful be for ever,
A viniger tart looke or clowdy brow,
Furroud with wrinckles I doe not allow,
And so to pout or lowre through sullennesse,
Is a strong signe of dogged peevishnesse.
Let her be bashfull and of modest grace.
Heare, but not answere for thee, wherein place
Thou art: for tis extreamest obloquie,
When she doth prate and thou must silent be,
No idle huswife let her ever be,
But alwaies doing some thing seriously.
[24]P Let her well loved selfe, her selfe preserve,
And from all goatish sents her skinne conserve.
Women doe oft like golden tombes apeare,
Worthy without when naught within is faire.
Some ten or twelve yeares younger then thou art,
Elect thy wife, for thats a wise mans part:
Because a womans glories ever faile,
Long ere the mans strength doe begin to quaile,
And so within thine eie wil breede dislike,
Ere mutuall yeares thee in like weaknesse strike,

---

[p]Sluttishnes in women was so much detested with the antient Romans, that one of the cheefe noble men of the citie put his wife from him by divorce, as if she had beene incontinent & unchaste of her bodie, yea only for that fault.

Therefore I wish the husbands age should be
Thirty at least, for then th'impaciency
Of youthfull heate beginneth to asswage,
And with more moderation rules his rage.
[25]Let her be such a one as feareth God,
Lest she aprove the sting of heavens rod,
Religious, not scruplous, and bove all,
[§]Let her know none whom puritans we call:
To run from Church to Church through all the towne,
To weare a thin small ruffe, a bare black gowne,
To faigne to speake like chickins when they peepe,
Or leare like cats when they doe seeme to sleepe.
To make long praiers and goggle up their eies,
As if their zeales would teare God from the skies.
To chide if any thing we say is good,
(Excepting God) as Prince or almes, or foode,
Christmas to name but Christ tide, as it were
Damnation, but the bare word masse to heare,
To speake to none that walketh in the streete,
Or with these words, God save you, any greete:
Not to looke up, but fix on earth the eie,
Aparant signes are of hypocrisie.

[§]In the daies of *Ariosto* there were many precise and verie hypocritical Friers, who sowed such sedition amongst the Churchmen, under the clock of zeale, that to this day it cannot be rooted out.

God pleased is with plainnesse of the hart.
And not with dumb shoes of the outward part,
Such as her life, such her religion is,
Where arts and words agree not, al's amisse.
[26q] I would not that acquaintance she should have,
With a precission *Frier* for hees a knave,
They under colour of confession frame,
Mischiefe and many matrons doe defame,
Nor shall she feast them with delitious fare,
For they but counterfeits and cheaters are,
To widowes, wives and maids they doe remaine,
Vild, as in harvest are great showers of raine.
[27r] Let her owne beautie be her owne delight,
Without adulterate painting, read or white,
Nature hath fixt best colours to the face,
No art hath power to give so sweete a grace.
Great paines to little purpose and much shame,
They spend, who to adorne their bodies frame,
Doe profitlesse consume whole daies away,
Let such a one not in thy favour stay.

---

[q]Many good gentlewomen especially old widowes are abused by counterfeit Friers in Italie, they making a shewe of more holinesse then the rest of their coat, when it is nothing els but more knaverie and dissimulation.

[r]There be such women as the Poet speaketh of, *Mervit formosa videri*, that is, she deserved with the paines she tooke, to seem handsome though indeed she was not.[28]

A golden time, a glorious world it was,
When women had no other looking glasse
Then the cleere fountaine, and no painting knew,
But what they from the simple sleekstone drewe.
Complexion now in every place is sold,
And plaister wise daubd upon yong and old.
Old jades must have read bridies, and the hag,
Will not in toies behind the yongest lag.
[29S] Knew *Herculan* but where those lips of his,
He layeth when his *Lidia* he doth kisse.
He would disdaine and loath himselfe as much,
As if the loathsome'st ordure he did touch.
[t] He knowes not, did he know it he would spewe,
That paintings made with speetle of a Jewe,
(For they the best sell) nor that loathsome smell,
Though mixt with muske and amber nere so well,
Can they with all their cunning take away,
The fleame and snot so ranke in it doth stay.
Little thinks he that with the filthy doung,
Of their small circumcised infants young,
The fat of hideous serpents, spaune of snakes,

[S]An Italian gentleman, whose mistris face was like a painters table.

[t]It is most true that the Jewes make the best colours, either *Rosa* or *Bianca*, as may be seene in *Famagosta* in Cyprus, and it is also credibly reported that they make it after this filthy maner as the Poet here set downe.[30]

Which slaves from out their poisonous bodies takes.
All which they doe preserve most curiously,
And mix them in one bodie cunningly,
Making that unguent, which who buies to use,
Buies hell withall, and heaven doth refuse.
Fie how my queasie stomack up doth rise,
To thinke with what grose stuffe in beastly wise,
They make this hateful vomit of the face,
With which fond women seeke themselves to grace,
Daubing their cheekes in darke holes with the same,
Lest the daies eie should tell the world their shame:
[31]But knew men which doe kisse them, what I know,
They would so farre in detestation grow,
That ere they would touch maskes so foule as this,
Mensis profluvium they would gladly kisse.
Nay knew but women how they are abusd
By these plague salves (so generally usd
Of them) and by those drugs wherewith they fill
Their closets, cabinets and cofers still:
They soone would finde their errours and confesse,
Tis they alone which makes them beautilesse.
[u] This curious painting when they undertake,
True natures beautie doth the cheeke forsake:

---

[u]Although this doctrine be as true as true may be, yet will not many gentlewomen beleeve it, but hold it to bee meere heresie and no truth.

All that is excellent away is fled,
Hating to live with hell being heaven bred.
Likewise those waters which they use with care,
To make the pearle teeth orient and more fare,
Turnes them to rottennesse, or black like hell,
Whilst from their breaths doth issue forth a smell,
More noisome then the vilest jakes can yeeld,
Or carion that corrupts within the field.
Well, let thy wife to none of these sins cleave,
But to the Court these rarer cunnings leave.
[32]Let her apparell be in comely fashion,
And not stragnized after every nation.
Head-tires in shape like to a corronet,
With pearls, with stone, and Jewels richly set,
Befits a Princesse right; a velvet hood,
With golden border, for thy wife's as good.
The Loome, the Needle and fine Cookery,
Doth not disparage true gentility.
Nor shall it be amisse, if when thou art,
Within thy country home, thy wife impart,
Her huswifely condition, and survay,
Her Dayrie and her milk-pans once a day.
The greatest states in these daies will respect
Their profits, when their honours they neglect.

[33X] But her cheefe care shall on thy children be,
To bring them up in each good quality.
And thus, if such a wife thou canst attaine,
I see no reason why thou shouldst refraine.
For say that afterward her mind should change,
And from corrupter thoughts desire to range:
Or that she seekes to scandalize her house,
With blacke disdaine, or shame most impious,
When in her harvest yeares thou comst to mow,
And findst where corne was, nought but weeds do grow:
Yet thou thy selfe as faulty, canst not blame,
But spiteful Fate, the author of defame:
And that her infancie was misgoverned,
And not in vertue truly nurtered.
Thou canst but sorry be for her offence,
When want of grace doth draw on impudence.
But he that like a blind man doth run on,
And takes the first his fortunes fall upon,
Or he that worse doth (as doth basest he)
Who though he know her most unchast to be:

[X]The bringing up of children in good sort, is one of the chiefest parts which belongs to an honest woman, as the Poet saith in his *Orlando Furioso*.

> The vertues that in women praise do win,
> Are sober shewes without, chast thoughts within:
> True faith and due obedience to their make,
> And of their children honest care to take.

Yet he will have her in dispight of all,
Even though the world him hatefull Wittall call.
If after sad repentance him importune,
Let him accuse himselfe for his misfortune:
Nor let him thinke any will moane his case,
Since his owne folly bred his owne disgrace.
But now since I have taught thee how to get,
Thy best of choice, and thee on horse-backe set,
Ile learne thee how to ride her: wild or tame,
To curb her when, and when to raine the same:
No sooner thou shalt take to thee a wife,
But thou shalt leave the old haunts of thy life,
Keep thine owne nest, lest some strange bird lie hid,
And do by thee as thou by others did.
[34y] Like a true Turtle with thine owne dove stay,
Else others t'wixt thy sheetes may falsly play.
Esteeme her deare, and love her as thy life,
No matchlesse treasure like a loyall wife.
If thou wilt have her like and honour thee,
First let her thine affections amply see:
What she doth for thee, kindly that respect,
And shew how thy love doth her love affect.
If by omission she do ought amisse,

---

[y]Good counsaile to all such yong men who have long warmed themselves by other mens fire.

In any thing that gainst thy nature is:
§With love and not with fury let her know,
Her errours ground, for thence amendments grow.
A gentle hand, A Colt doth sooner tame
Then chaines or fetters which do make him lame.
Spaniels with stroking we doe gentle find,
Sooner then when they coopled are or pinde.
These kind of cattell gentler then the rest,
Without the use of rigor do the best.
Good natures by good usage best do prove,
Disdaine breedes hate, tis love ingenders love,
But that like asses they should beaten be,
Neither with sense nor reason doth agree:
For where loves art availes not, there I feare,
Stroakes will more bootlesse and more vile appeare.
Many will boast what wonders they have wrought
By blowes, and how their wishes they have caught.
How they have tam'd their shrewes & puld them downe,
Making them vaile even to the smallest frowne.
But let those Gyants which such boastings love,
Tell me what they have got and it will prove,

---

§*Ariosto* having seene the cruelite of the Italians, who keepe their mistresses like Birds in Cages, and knowing that such tyranny made them more apt to proove false and unkind, perswadeth his kinsman to the contrarie, approving the proverbe, that a woman desireth nothing more then that of which she is restrained.

Their wives their blowes, on hands & face do beare,
And they their wives marks on their foreheads weare.
[z] Besides who least a wicked wife can tame,
Doth oftest brag that he can do the same.
Remember she is neighbour to thy heart,
And not thy slave, she is thy better part.
Thinke tis enough that her thou maist command,
And that she doth in love-knots loyall stand:
Although thy power thou never do approve,
For thats the way to make her leave to love.
Give her all wishes whilest she doth desire,
Nothing but that which reason doth acquire.
And when thou hast confirmed thee in her love,
Preserve it safe, let nothing it remove.
And yet to suffer her, do all she will,
Without thy knowledge, may much vertue kill.
So likewise to mistrust without all reason,
To perfit love is more then open treason.
To go to feasts and weddings mongst the best,
Is not amisse: for there suspect is least.
Nor is it meet, that she the Church refraine,
Sith there is vertue, and her noble traine.

---

[z]These braggarts are like that honest man whose wife having broke his pate, and he wearing a nightcap, being asked why hee ware it, answered that his wife falling on the suddaine sicke, hee tooke such thought for the same, that hee became himselfe ill also, & so was glad to excuse the matter.

In publike markets and in company,

Is never found adulterous villany.

But in thy gossips or thy neighbours house,

And therefore hold such places dangerous.

[a] Yet as devotion to the Church her leades,

Thou shalt do well to marke which way she treades:

For often times the goodly pray is still

The cause why men do steale against their will.

Chiefly take heed, what consort she live in,

Beware of Wolves that weare the Weathers skin.

Marke what resort within thy house doth move,

Many kisse children for the nurses love.

[b] Some for thy wives sake much will honour thee;

Doe not with such men hold society.

When shee's abroad, thy feare is of small worth,

The danger's in the house when thou art forth.

Yet wisely watch her, lest she doe espy

Thy politicke and waking jealousie.

---

[a] By this trick *Ariosto* sheweth himselfe to be a right Italian: for so do many Italians use to dog their wives when they goe abroad, the poore women not thinking that their husbands do watch them as they doe.

[b] There was in a certaine Universitie either heere or else where a certain Malt-man, who having a very sweet & lovely browne woman to his wife, many Gentlemen Students and others, would be his kinsmen, in so much that a familiar of his demanded one day of him merrily, which way it came that so many gallants were allied unto him: who replied laughing (like a good companion) by my truth sir I know not, except this kindred come by my wives side: for before I was married unto her, there was not one scholler in this Universitie that was acquainted with me. This fellow though he was plaine, yet had hee

Which if she do, then is her reason strong,
Thee to accuse, that dost her causlesse wrong.
Remove all causes what so ere they be,
Which to her name may coople infamy.
And if she needes will cast away all shame,
Yet let the world know thou art not to blame.
I know no other rules to set thee downe,
How thou maiest keep unstaind thy wives renowne.
Nor how thou maist keep men from having power,
Thy wives chast honours basely to devoure.
[c] And yet Ile tell thee this, if she have will

[b] (cont.) a shrewd pate, and although he said little, yet did hee thinke more, and many drie blowes he would give these lusty youthes which resort unto his house, whereof I will give you a taste and so away: One day a gentleman of a good house came to visite him (or rather if I should say truely his wife) who meeting him at his dore saluted him, calling him kinseman, and withall asked how his cosen his wife did, saying hee would be so bold as to goe in and see her, I pray you do, said the goodman, and yet before you goe a word with you. With all my heart, replide the scholler: then said the malt-man, since I came acquainted with you and other kinde gentlemen my kinred, I have learnt two Latine verses, and I would know the meaning of them. Let me heare them said the yong student: that you shall said the townesman, and these be they.

Tuta frequensque via est, per amici fallere nomen:
Tuta frequensque licet sit via, crimen habet.

Now, said he, I pray you tell me them in English, I am not so good a scholler at the first sight to explaine them, replied the student. Then I am said the married man, and this it is:

Friendship with greatest safetie doth deceave,
And yet though safe, tis knavish by your leave.

Hereupon hee fell a laughing, saying, I thinke I have now paid you home, and so away hee went, leaving the student to goe visit his wife.[35]

[c] Many hold of opinion that to be a cuckold is destiny and not their wives dishonesties, as a good fellow in the world said to a friend of his, who telling him hee was sory that so honest a man as he should be abused as hee was, seeing the fault was his wives and not his. I

To tread awry, thou must not thinke through skill
To mend her, for she is past all recure,
And what she will do thou must needes indure.
Doe what thou canst by art or observation,
She will create thee of a forked fashion.
All's one if thou do use her ill or well
When women are resolv'd spight heaven or hell
They will strike saile, and with lascivious breath,
Bid all men welcome though it be their death.
And for you shall not justly thinke I lie,
Lend but your eare to this true history.

There was a Painter whom I cannot name, A tale.[37]
That used much to picture out the Divell,
With face and eies fit for a lovely dame:
Nor cloven feet, nor hornes, nor any evill.
So faire he made him, and so formally,
As whitest snow, or purest Ivory.

The divell who thought it very great disgrace,
The Painter should orecome in curtesie:
Appear'd unto him in sleepe face to face,
Declared what he was in brevity:

---

[c](cont.) thanke you neighbour (replied he) for your good conceit of me: but I assure you I thinke it was not her fault, but rather mine owne fortune that made me a cuckold: for I verily beleeve whosoere I had married would have bin naught as wel as she. Nay then (quoth his neighbor) if you think so, God forbid I should disswade you from an opinion you hold so confidently, and so left him.[36]

And that he came but onely to requite,
His paines in painting him so faire and white.

And therefore wild him aske what so he would,
Assuring him to have his whole request.
The wretch who had a wife of heavenly mould,
Whose beautie brought his jealous braines unrest:
Intreated for the ending of that strife,
Some meanes to be assured of his wife.

Then seem'd the divell to take a goodly ring,
An put it on his finger, saying this;
So long as thou shalt weare this pretty thing,
Thou maiest be sure she cannot do amisse.
But if thou use to leave this ring unworne,
Nor man or divell can keep thee from the horne.

Glad was this man, and with his gladnesse waked,
But scarcely had he opened both his eies,
Before he felt his wife starke belly naked:
And found his finger hid between her thighes.
Remembring then his dreame how it concluded,
He thought the Divell had him in sleep deluded.

And yet not so (quoth he) for it is true
If so we meane our wives shall be no flingers,
There is no such devise, nor old nor new,

As still to weare such rings upon our fingers:
For else though all our haires were watchful eies,
We should not see their subtill treacheries.

[38]Nor can this policy scarce us availe.
For if she meaneth *Chaucers* jest to trie,
She to another will her love entaile,
Although she knew she for the same should die.
[d] The slie Venetian lockt his Ladies ware,
Yet through her wit *Acteons* badge he bare.

[40]My Lord, few married men do live content,
Their wives as crosses unto them are sent:
So must I say the single life is ill,
Sith in the same dwels many troubles still.

---

[d]*Antonio Silvio* a noble man of Venice, having a marvellous faire woman unto his wife, and being sent embassador into *Germany* unto the Emperour then living, the *Signori* of Venice, was so jealous over her, as hee devised a most wonderfull, strange and artifitial locke & key *per la Fica sua,* which the good Lady took so unkindly (being mistrusted without cause) that he no sooner was gone onward on his journey, but that she by the counsel & perswasion of her amorous servant (assisted by the cunning devise of a most ingenious & excellent workman, a Dutchman) got a false key for the lock, & so enjoyed her loving friend all the absence of her husband, who returning home againe never perceived the fraud: But after the death of this Lady, the knowledge wherof coming to the *Signori* of Venice, they for the strangenes of the matter, caused the lock & chain to be amongst their other chief monuments in *Graund Sala* in S. *Marks* palace, it is made of silver plate, very thin, & in proportion not much unlike a horse-shoe, with small little holes in the midst, and is as smooth at the one end as at the other, having two little small chaines which came round about her middle, and were shut close on each side with a lock, it is at this day with other antiquities to be seen there.[39]

[e] Yet better tis in purgatorie dwell
A little space, then alwaies live in hell.
What my best strength of reasons are you see,
And therefore your owne carver you may be.
[f] Tis all but one resolve, who ere is borne
To marry, likewise must possesse the horne.
Yet I but merrily do write and jest,
The married mans estate of all is best;
And they who cannot chastly lead their lives,
May in the world find many worthy wives.
One of the best of which I wish to you,
One that is loving, loyall, wise and true.

---

[e]The Poet compareth marriage to Purgatory, whereas they say they continue in paine but for a certaine time. But the Batchellors life he termeth hell, because in respect of the comforts in marriage, it may be termed a hellish life, or else he termeth the batchellors life hell, because he thinkes that none perhaps live honest until they be married: & therefore in the greater danger if they die not maides.

[f]Our Poet here is very merry with his kinseman, especially being an Italian, who of all sports cannot abide any jest that savoreth of the horn, for if he say

Joco di mano, Joco di villano
No doubt, *Pigliara nell gran scorno*
Il Joco dello corno.

But in the end he maketh him amends, wishing him as good a wife as good may be, even the best amongst women.[41]

The fift Satyre[1]

THE ARGUMENT.

Hee sheweth by occasion of a certaine kind of government or Liuetenancie over a country which the Duke of Ferrara bestowed upon him, how unfit he was for any thing but onely for the Muses. And that to be a lover is the greatest fault and greatest absurdity that any man can commit.

To Master *Sigismond Malaguzzo.*[2]

This day hath fully sum'd an even yeare,
Since hither first I made my sad repaire:
(Leaving *Ferrara*, where I first drew breath,
By endlesse toile to hasten speedy death)
[a] Hither where swift Turrita, Serchio meetes,
Betwixt two bridges whence their billowes fleetes,
Making continual noise through divers springs,
Which their owne flowing waters to them brings.
To governe as the Duke did me assigne,
[b] His poore distressed flocke of Graffanine,

---

[a] Two rivers so called, not farre from the Apenine mountaines.[3]

[b] A little town upon the borders of the Dukedome of Ferrara, & in these daies somewhat dangerous by reason of the woods and mountaines there abouts where a number of Bandity kept.[4]

[c] Which crav'd his aid assoone as *Leo* died,
Because the Romish yoke they would not bide.
Even *Leo* who with much sterne crueltie,
Had brought them to the gate of miserie,
And worse had done, but that the mightie hand
Of heaven, did all his tyrannies with stand.
And this the first time is in all this while,
That ever I did write or ought compile:
Or to the learned Muses have made sute,
But dumbly lived, tong-tide and sadly mute,
The strangnesse of this place hath so dismaid me,
That like a fearefull bird I durst not play me,
Who having changd her cage, flutters her wing,
And through amazement scard, doth feare to sing.
(Kinde kinsman) that my case is in this sorte,
And that from me thou hast not heard reporte,
Wonder thou not, but rather doe admire,
That in this space my breath did not expire,
Seeing I am an exild man, at least
An hundred miles from that I fancie best,
Since rivers, rocks, and mountaines bove the skies,

---

[c] Leo the 10. was no sooner dead but *Alphonso* Duke of Ferrara, entred into the field with an hundred men at armes, two thousand foot, & three hundred light horsemen, & so went to incampe before *Cento*, after he had recovered by the will of the Italians Bondena, Finale, the mountaine of Modena, and Graffagnana, and other townes about Romagnia which *Leo* had taken from him, although he challenged them to be his.[5]

[d] Keepes me from her[6] is dearer then mine eies.
All other bussinesses which me concerne,
I can excuse, and from mine ease doe learne,
To make my friends conceive in generall,
That all my greatest faults are veniall.
But to thy selfe I will in plaine phrase speake,
And all mine inward cogitations breake.
To thee Ile shrive my selfe, for thou shalt know,
Both how my wisedome and my follies growe,
Where as to others should I so much tell,
My folly would be made my passing bell,
To ring my death of wit, whilst with sterne looke,
The world would hardly my confession brooke:
Saying no question he is mightie wise,
Which can see nothing, yet hath both his eies,
And is most fit to be a foole to other,
When his affects he can nor rule nor smother.
Fie to be fiftie yeares and yet to glowe,
As if I did but fully fifteene knowe,
[7]And then he tels the scriptures strictest lawes,
Both scriv'ners Adages, and old mens sawes.
Well though I erre, I am not fully blinde,
But can my blouds fault in large measure finde:

---

[d] *Ariosto* had no fault, but onely that he loved *Venerie*, which was a veniall sinne amongst the Italians.

And which is more, I doe condemne the same,
And not as others doe, defend my shame.
[e] But what availes my penance, when nearelesse
I know my faults, yet make my faults no lesse,
Or since no precious Antidote I finde,
To heale the ranckling ulcer of my minde:
But thou art wiser, since when thou dost please,
Thou canst affections sicknesses appease,
Which being hid in man, Nature doth mix,
And to mans inward soule the same doth fix.
This is the worst the world of me can say,
Whose ill perhaps may have a worse display
Then it deserves, although some verball care
They have of me, when great their sorrowes are,
(And would have more) if I could this redresse,
And these my fleshly motions quite suppresse.
[§] Those which in this world speake most curiously,
Close in their hearts the deepest injurie.
Thou knowst I know the world hath many a slave
That will blaspheme, sweare, curse, be mad and rave,

---

[e] He is the rather to be pittied in that he confesseth his fault, being sorrie for it, & willingly would he have amended it, but that he could not.

[§] Here the Poet taxeth the insatiate luxury of Friers and Church-men, which was in those daies so great, that very few severall Monasteries were without many cradles and many sepulchers of young infants.

Accusing others that they cuckolds be,
When his weake judgement hath no power to see,
How goodly, large and spreading is that horne,
Which his owne forehead many yeares hath borne:
[8]Other diseases every one can spie,
But none will mend his owne deformity.
We can reprove in strangers whats amisse,
And see not in our selves what vilder is,
We take delight that we can reprehend,
When t'were more generous our selves to mend.
The wallet which behind hangs with sins store,
We never see, our eies are both before.
I neither kill, nor strike, nor doe contend,
Nor am I hurtfull, but the whole worlds frend,
The worst I doe, is that I onely grieve,
Because I cannot with my mistres live,
And thinke it torment more then torments be,
To live from her which onely lives in me,
And yet I not forget t'acknowledge this,
That herein onely I doe still amisse:
Yet not so ill but that by intercession
I may be pardond through mine owne confession.
The vulgar sort with water[9] oftentimes,
(Not onely greater faults then my small crimes)
Wash cleane away, but (which breeds greater shame)

Baptiseth vice with noble vertues name.

[10][f] *Hermilian* that is growne so covetous,
(As to behold the same tis monstrous)
Nor rests by day nor slumbers in the night,
But makes his gold his God and his delight,
No love of friend or brother wil he hold,
Hates his owne selfe, loves nothing but his gold,
Yet is esteemd a man of industry,
Of perfit wisedome and great policie.
Rainard[11] swels big and doth disdaine his state,
Lookes as the world would tremble at his hate.
He thinkes himselfe what he can never be,
And feeds his hopes with idle imagery,
He will surpasse in spending ill got wealth,
And in apparel goes beyond him selfe.
A steward he will have, a huntsman, faulkoner,
A cooke, a chamberlaine, and a curious carver.
Lordships he sels, and makes them fly away,
A mannor or a parke goes every day.
What his old auncestry had many yeares
Gathered together, and left unto their heires,
That with immoderate lavishnes he spends,
And through the world in all disorder sends.

---

[f]By *Hermilian*, *Rainard* and others, hee sheweth how many in the world commit grosser faults by farre then he did, & yet what they doe passeth for currant, and are not condemned of the worlde.

But what for this? none murmures at his will,
Nor doth demaund why he consumes thus ill:
But rather cals him most Magnanimous,
Most bountifull, gallant and vertuous.
The common sort, the Hydra multitude,[12]
Thus with their flattery doe him delude.
Solonio[13] so much businesse takes in hand,
And meddles so with all things in the land,
That even the waight is able to confound
The strongest horse that ever trod on ground.
Within the custome house he hath a charge,
And in the Chancery, a pattent large,
To Ports and Keies immediately he flies,
Where both his profit and commandment lies.
[g] To Castell Angelo then will he scower,
And all this done in minute of an howre,
The very quintescense of all his braines,
He doth distill to bring the Pope newe gaines,
Nor doth his cares or painful studies end
To any thing save profit onely tend,
It joyes his hart when he heares Rumor say,
That with his toiles he wastes his life away,

---

[g]One of the strongest and richest places in Rome belonging to the Pope, which Pope *Clement* the eight bestowed upon his nephew *Don Pietro*, it being worth better then 12000 crownes by the yeere.[14]

And so that to his Lord he crownes may bring,
He nor respects acquaintance, friend nor kinne.
The people hate him, and they have good cause,
Since it is true, tis he which onely drawes
The Pope to plague the Citie, and still lades
Her with new customes, taxes and intrudes.
Yet a Magnifico this fellow is,
High stated and can nothing doe amisse.
Whilst like to peassants noblemen not dare
To come to him and their great suits declare:
But they must cap and crouch and bare head stand,
As if he were the Monarch of the land.
Laurino[15] takes upon him (of pure zeale)
In upright justice, chiefe affaires to deale,
His country heele defend through his desarts,
Whilst publike good to private he convarts,
Three he exiles, but six to death he sends,
Begins a Fox, but like a Lion ends.[16]
From tyrannie his strength he doth create,
Whilst gifts and bribes doe even dam up his gate:
The wicked he doth raise, the good keepes downe,
And yet this man is rich in all renowne,
He is renound to be both just and good,
When he is full of whordome, theft and blood:
Where he should honour give, he gives disgrace,

Malice with pride, & pride with wealth doth place,
Whom he should most releeve, he most offends,
His ope-eied justice, loves none but his friends,
Crowes oft for Swans & Swans he takes for Crowes,
Now knewe this Justice but my love-sick woes,
[17]What sower faces from him would apeare,
Like him that on a close-stoole straining were.
Well let him speake his pleasure with the rest,
I care not for their speeches, thats the best,
Only thee which art mine onely frend,
I doe confesse my pleasures are at end,
Since I first hither (gainst my wil) was tost,
My joyes are gone and my delights are lost.
This of my reasons I have chiefest tride,
Though others more I could alledge beside,
[§]Why I have left *Pernassus* learned mount,
Nor with the Muses talkt as I was wont,
Then when with thee in Reggio I did stay,
(My native soile) and past the time away,
In all best Joviall sollace and delight,
Priding my selfe in waightie verse to write,
Those glorious places did me ample good,
Reviv'd my spirits and inflam'd my blood.

[§]*Pernassus* is a mountaine in Boetia, where the Poets fained the well of learning to be; in which lived the nine Muses or mistresses of all arts.[18]

[h] Thy Mauritanian lodge for banqueting,
With all the worthiest pictures flourishing,
And call my *Rodanus* not farre from thence,
Of water nimphes the choisest residence,
Thy christall fishponds, and thy garden, which
A silver spring with moisture doth inrich,
Watring by Arte those checkerd flowers still,
And in the end fals downe into a Mill.
O how I wish for that and for the rest,
Which whilst I did enjoy my sense was blest.
Nor can my memorie forgoe the thought,
Of those brave vines from fertill *Iaco*[20] brought;
Those valleies, nor those hils, nor that high Tower
Can I forget, where I have many an hower
Reposd, and searcht out every shadowie place,
The Fresco coole I loved to imbrace:
[21]Whilst I one booke or other would translate,
Which forraine Authors did communicate.
O then I youthfull was and in my prime,
[22]My yeeres even April, or the springs best time,
Which now are like October somewhat colde:

---

[h]He discribeth a marvailous dainty banqueting house in Reggio, belonging to the Mallaguzzi, & called so because it is built after the maner of the buildings in Barbary, full of great & wide windowes for coolenes in sommer, and beautified with many excellent and admirable pictures, & statues of great price & worth.[19]

For I begin, and shall ere long be olde.
But neither can the fountaine Hellicon,[23]
Nor Ascras valleies,[24] no nor any one
Be of the power to make my verses sing,
Unlesse my hart be free from sorrowing:
Which being so, then this place where I dwell,
Is not for study, sith it is my hell,
When here no pleasure is, nor any joy,
More then dissention, horror and anoy.
This soile I barraine and unwholsome finde,
Subject to stormes, to tempests and to winde.
One part is hillie, th'other lowe and plaine,
Wherein there doth no pleasantnes remaine.
The place wherein I live is like a cell,
Deepe and descending downeward as to hell.
From hence theirs none can come at any time,
Unlesse he passe the River Appenine.[25]
I tell thee gentle Cuz, ill is my taking,
Since thus of all my friends I am forsaken.
For stay I in my house or to the aire
Seeke to disburthen some parte of my care,
Nothing I heare but spightfull accusations,
Brawles, brabbles or more shamefull acclamations,
Murthers and thefts, and such like villanie,
To which I must attend most patiently.

This is the cause I one while am compeld
With mildest reasons to make some men yeild,
Others to threaten, and by force to drawe,
Others to punish by strict penall lawe,
Some I absolve, to some I pardon give,
In hope hereafter they will better live.
Then to the Duke I straight doe packets write,
For counsaile or for soldiers which must fight,
[i] To th'end those outlawes which about me stay,
May or be slaine, or driven quite away:
For one thing I must let thee understand,
That in most wretched state abides this land.
[k] Since the wilde Panther first, the Lyon then,
Did in this wofull country make their den.
So many lurking theeves doe here abide,
And in such numbers flock on everie side,
As not the best commanders which we have,
(Whose charge is to pursue them to the grave)
Dares with his ensignes spread, their strengths invade
Such proofes the slaves have of their valors made:
So that he wisest is which safe doth stand,

---

[i] *Leo* the Pope used the people of this country so hardly, that they tooke up armes amongst themselves and became rebels.

[k] Some think by the Panther he meant *Julius* the second, not long before Pope, and by Lyon *Leo* the tenth.[26]

And stirs not to take danger by the hand.
Stil I doe write, and write to him[27] againe,
Whom it concernes, but all my labours vaine:
For though he send (as reason is he should)
Yet he not sends that answere which I would,
[1] Each Castel armes (within it selfe) doth take,
And fourescore three in number they doe make
Of perjur'd rebels, who malitiously
Spoil their owne country with hostilitie.
Judge then if great *Apollo* when I call,
Wil come or shew himselfe to me at all,
Leaving his Cynthien or his Delphian shore,
To heare these brabbles which he doth abhorre,
Both he and all his sacred sisters nine.
To looke upon such places doe repine:
But here thou maist demand of me the cause
Which me to this vexation headlong drawes,
Leaving my studie with obscure neglect,
And my deare mistresse without all respect.
O Cuz, thou know'st I neare was covetous,
Nor from ambition have beene envious.
With a poore pention I have beene content,
Which in Ferrara got I there have spent,

---

[1] Fourscore and three Castels or small villages were there in all, which were risen up in armes by reason they were so mightily oppressed by Pope *Leo*.

But thou perhaps this chance didst never know,

That when the warres[28] begin with us to grow,

[m] The Duke but slowly did my pension pay,

And at last did take it quite away.

During the warres I griev'd not to be barde

Of my best due, but when as afterward,

All things was quiet and the world at peace,

It troubled me to see my paiment cease.

[n] And so much more, since by ill boading fate,

I then had lost an office in the state,

In Millain, through this unexspected warre,

Hoping in vaine, short time would end the jarre,

[30]Horses doe sterve (they say) whilst grasse doth spring,

And I found he said true that so did sing.

At last unto the Court I weary came,

And thus my suit unto the Duke did frame;

My gratious Lord (said I) vouchsafe some gaine

Unto the elder merits of my paine.

---

[m]When *Ariosto* first followed the Duke of Ferrara, hee of his own voluntarie minde bestowed a yeerely pension of him, but afterwards having warres with the Pope and the Venetians, both at one time, he withdrew his former liberalitie, nor when they were ended did hee restore the same unto him againe, which *Ariosto* tooke very unkindly.

[n]*Aliud ex alio malum*, here is one mischeefe upon an others neck, he no sooner lost his pension in Ferrara, but his office which the Cardinal *Hypolito* had bestowed upon him in Millain, was taken from him by reason of the civill warres in Italie also.[29]

Or suffer me that I may else pursue
My fortunes some where else, and not with you.
The *Graffanini* at that time by chance,
Began themselves with courage to advance,
[o] Being perswaded by *Marzoccus* song,
To leave the Pope who then had done them wrong.
And thereupon sent many embasies,
Unto our Duke their mindes to specifie.
Th'effect was this, they did humbly crave,
They might their auntient priviledges have
With their old customes; wherto hees content,
And they forthwith yeeld to his government.
And hence it came out of some sodaine grace,
I chosen was to governe in that place.
Either because the time so short did grow,
That well he knew not where he might bestow
The office but on me, or for I best,
Might spared be as one of merit least,

---

[o]This was the chiefe captaine of the rebels, who did perswade his companions to leave the Pope, and yeeld unto the Duke of Ferrara, which upon the conditions aforesaid, they did. Whereupon the Duke sent *Ariosto* thither as governour (to make him amends for his late unkindnes) where he behaved himselfe so wisely, that he brought the country into great quietnes, in such wise as when he came from them he left them in a maner in good peace and concord, although whilest he remained there, hee was much discontented and disquieted in mind.[31]

For which I count my selfe with humblenesse
Bound by this grace unto his mightinesse.
It is his love which bindes me to his grace,
For which I thanke him more then for this place.
Which though beyond my spirits it aspire,
Yet doth it not accord with my desire.
Now if about these rebels you demand,
What mine opinion is: it thus doth stand.
They rather did deserve severity,
Then any touch of gentle lenitie:
For when I do but call into my minde,
How perjur'd and perfidious I them finde,
Although what ere I did was still to ease them,
Yet theres no doubt but I did still displease them.
They nor like me, nor I their country love,
And therefore daily pray for my remove.
[§]In this I do resemble *AEsops* Cocke,
Who having found a pearle, the same did mocke.
A place I have obtain'd of gaine and fame,
And yet (in sooth) I care not for the same.
As with the sea Venetian, so with me
It fares, to whom a swift-foot barbarie,

A tale.[33]

[§]The Poet here compareth himselfe to *AEsops* Cocke, who finding a precious stone, said, he had rather have found a barley corne, and *Ariosto* had rather have had a quiet warm study, then the great government of Graffanini.[32]

(A gallant horse) was given by the king
Of Portugale for some great meriting,
Who for he would shew that he did accept
His royall gift, and not the same reject,
Forgetfull how the difference to discerne,
T'wixt use of bridles, and the the tall ships sterne,
Mounts on his back, and therewith taketh hold,
Upon the pommel, like a horse-man bold,
That done he strikes his spurs into his side,
Saying softly to himselfe, for all thy pride,
Thou shalt not fling me downe do what thou can,
If the girths hold, Ile shew my selfe a man.
The fiery jade, feeling the wounding spurre,
Began to plunge, to bound and keep a sturre:
Which when the good old Sea-man felt, he more,
Drawes in his bridle then he did before:
And spurs him worse, both on the flankes and side,
Till with his bloud his riders heeles were dide,
The horse not used to be ridden so,
Nor can his riders doubtfull meaning know,
The bridle holding backe, and bidding stand,
The spurre to go on forward doth command.
But in the end, madly resolv'd thereon,
Flat on the ground he flings sir *Pantalon*.

Our great *Magnifico*[34] lies on his back,
And cries as he were torturd on a racke.
With thighes all sore, and shoulders out of joint,
His head sore bruisde, his heart at deaths last point,
All pale with griefe and feare in piteous wise,
Be smeard with durt, at last he up doth rise:
Right malecontented that he was so mad,
To deale in that where he no judgement had.
Farre better he had done, and so had I,
He with his horse, I with this country,
T'have said my Liege, or Lord, I am not fit
For this high place, nor do I merit it.
This bountie doth exceed what I deserve,
Let it some better worthes, and not mine serve,
[35]If either I or he had beene thus plaine,
I had had much more ease; he lesser paine.

The sixt Satyre[1]

THE ARGUMENT.

Hee sheweth what qualities a good Schoolmaster ought to have, and how hardly any is found honest of that coat, and in the end setteth downe certaine grievous losses which hee endured in his youth time.

To Mr. *Peter Bembo.*

Bembo, [a] I nothing covet or require,
(Though tis the carefull parents strong desire)
[b] So much as I might my *Virginio* see,
Rarely instructed in Philosophie,[4]
Which who so hath he then is in request,
And may take up his ranke amongst the best.
Now since I know that thou most learned art,
And of each liberall science holdst best part:
Even from my best of love, I humbly crave
That of this youth, some watchfull care thou have:

---

[a] He wrot this Satyre before *Bembo* was Cardinal, who as I said before was Secretary to *Leo* the 10. who advanced him to that degree.[2]

[b] Although he were never married yet had hee two sons by a very faire woman called *Alessandra,* whereof this *Virginio* whom he loved best was one. The other was called *Gian Baptista,* but the Lady to whom hee was devoted most, was called *Genevra,* as hee himselfe confesseth in his seventh Canzon or sonnet, where he doth figuratively set it downe in a most schollerlike manner.[3]

And yet I would not have thee to conceive,
That with thee any trouble I would leave:
Or that I would thou shouldst his Pedant be,
To teach him Grammar rules industriously:
Tis not my mind: for I would have thee know,
Better good manners doth within me grow.
Such men of worth as thou, and of thy place,
With these disparagements we do not disgrace:
Onely my meaning is that at thy leasure,
Thou wouldst vouchsafe to do me that hie pleasure,
As to bethinke thee, if unto this end,
Thou knowst in Venice any worthy friend,
Or else in Padoa mongst the learned throng,
Who speakes the Grecian & the Caldean tongue,[5]
Skilfull in knowledge, just in deed and word,
With whom he may have learning, and his board.
If such a one thou knowst of worth and skill,
He shall (with reason) have what ere he will:
Let him be learned, but especially
Looke that his life be fixt to honesty:
For if in vertue he do not surmount,
Of th'other qualities I make no account.
T'is easie to find learned, but we can
Hardly find out a learned honest man.
For in this age, who most of art doth brave,
Hath oft most vice (reading makes him a knave.)[6]

[c] Besides, the *Peccadillos* smal of Spaine,

They say he in his speeches doth maintaine.

Of *Atheisme* they him challenge, and approve

The faith Apostolike he doth not love: 40

---

[c]This is a common speech in Italy when any hath committed any notable or horrible sinne, they terme it *Ironice*, or a small Peccadillo of Spaine: which grew first from this occasion. A certaine Cavalier of Spaine came to his Confessor to be shriven of his sinne, to whome the Frier giving eare, he began to tel him that he had mightily offended in pride. His Ghostly father told him, that it was the root of all evill, and the chiefe president of al the other deadly sinnes: but said hee, despaire not, and beleeve faithfully, and thou mayest be forgiven, and the rather because all Spaniards by nature are proud and surly. Secondly he told him he was given to be very wrathfull and full of choller: and this, answered the Frier, is another deadly sin, and yet pardonable, in that you being a Souldier and a brave man at armes, ought not to pocket up any indignitie or abuse: especially if it were to the disparagement of your honour. Thirdly he said, he was given to lust and lecherie: and that replied the Confessor, is a heavy sinne: yet may prove to be light through grace, and may well bee forgiven as veniall, because thou are a lusty young man, and in the prime of heat and youth, and no doubt but age will tame it in you. Fourthly he said he was given much to gluttony, & that (said his Ghostly father) may be pardoned, in that when you live at home at your owne house, you life with little, not surfeting in meat or drinke, as you doe when you are abroad. To conclude the Spaniard told the Frier, he was guilty of the other three sinnes, which were Sloth, Envy and Covetousnesse: the more is the pitty (answered the Priest) yet for your sloth, take more paines hereafter: In stead of being envious, be loving & charitable: And for your covetousnesse, entertaine liberality & bounty, which will bring you soone to heaven, and so God forgive you & I do. And having so said, he rose to go his way, when the Spaniard staying him with his hand, told him, he had one little thing more to tell him of. The Frier asked him what it was. He replied, that it was a matter of no moment, & a meere trifle. Yet (quoth the other) cleare your conscience of all, now you have begun. But said the Spaniard it is not worth the speaking of, it is nothing, *Nados, nados, Peccadillos, peccadillos*. The Frier hearing him make so small account of the same, & yet not willing to disclose it, was the more earnest with him to tel it. Whereupon on the suddaine, the Spaniard burst out in these words. *Non credo in Deos:* I do not beleeve in God. The Frier hearing him say so, blest himselfe with the signe of the crosse, as if he had bin some divel, & away he got from him as fast as ever he could trudge. And ever since that time any famous or notorious villainy, is termed *Peccadillos di Spagna*, by the contrary.[7]

Nor of that Unitie (admired most)
Betwixt the Father, Sonne and holy Ghost.
He cannot thinke how th'one from th'other goes,
Like divers springs which from one fountaine flowes.
Nor can he in his sense conceive how one,
Should or be three, or that three still be one.
He rather thinketh that if hold he shall,
An argument quite opposite to all,
Contesting with all sacred verity,
Alledging for sound reason Sophistrie.
That then his wit is excellent and rare,
And his conceit beyond the best compare.
Making the world beleeve he climbs the aire,
And reaches to *Jehovahs* sacred chaire.
[d] If *Nicoletto* preaching holy writ,
Or famous *Martin* with his learned wit:
Suspected be of infidelity,
Or if they chaunce to hold strong heresie:
Their too much knowledge, I accuse thereof,
Nor will I angry be thereat or scoffe,
Sith their ambitious spirits mounting hie,
To search Gods deep forbidden secresie.

---

[d]Two famous Friers, the first of the order of S. *Augustine*, the other of S. *Francis*, & now of late daies, *Lupo*, *Panigarola* & *Aquapendente* have beene counted very learned Preachers in the court of Rome, insomuch that the Pope would say *Lupus monet*, *Panigaroa suadet*, & *Aquapendente docet*.[8]

No marvel t'is though they confounded are,
When they beyond their strengths will wade so far.
But thou whose study is humanity,
Wherein no such depth lies confusedly:
Whose subjects are the woods and shadowing hils,
Or chrystall springs whence water clens'd distils:
Whilest thou old martiall stories dost rehearse,
And blaze abroad in proud Heroicke verse:
Or with the rhetoricke of sweet words dost move,
And turnest harsh thought unto pliant love.
Or else with pleasing flattery too too base,
Princes dost praise when they deserve disgrace.
Tell me what thou in thy conceit dost find,
That thou with madnes shouldst perturb thy mind?
Or what doth with thy knowledge disagree,
That thou as others shouldst not honest be?
[e] The name thou didst receive when thou wert borne
Of Saint or of Apostle, thou dost scorne:
When thee thy suerties do Christian make,
And so into the holy Church do take,
In *Cosmico*[10] or in *Pomponio*,[11]
Thou changest *Peter* to *Pierio*,[12]

---

[e] Many Italians both men and women will chuse rather to bee called after the old Romans then as Christians are, as *Peter* they will be called *Pierio*, for *John*, *Jano*, for *Luke*, *Lucio*, for *Mark*, *Marco* & such like.

John into *Jano*[13] or *Jovinian:*[14]

Turning the cat *Renverso* in the pan,[15]

As if the worse thou shouldst be for the name,

Or thou thereby shouldst purchase greater fame,

To be a better Poet, then if seriously,

Thou plid'st thy booke with lesser vanity.

[§]Such fooles as these are such as *Plato* did,

From every civill common-wealth forbid

By his grave discreet lawes, since he well knew,

Nor good nor profit would from them accrew.

[16]Yet *Phoebus* musicke nor *Amphions* art,

Shall not compare with these in any part.

Nor those which first did holy verse devise,

Whose sacred tunes perswaded Angell wise,

Men for to live with men, and to give ore

To feed like beasts on achornes (as before)

Whilest in the woods and thickets wofully,

They savage like did range confusedly.

Most true it is, such as were strongst of all,

(Whose lawless force the weakest did enthrall,

Taking from them their flocks, their food, their wives,

[§]Ariosto taxing the base flattery & curiosity of his countrymen sheweth the opinion of *Plato*, the scholer of *Socrates*, who was the famousest Philosopher in all Athens, and writte a booke, intituled His Common-wealth; in which he banisheth al flatterers and over curious people as the most hurtfull members thereof.

And often times (without all cause) their lives)
At last became obedient to that law,
Which to be needfull for themselves they saw,
Whilest following plowes and tilling of the land,
They justly got by labour of their hand,
And through the sweat which issued from their paines,
The worthy harvest of their honest gaines.
Hence did the learn'd perswade the ignorant,
And simple people, who did judgement want:
That *Phoebus* built up Troy with musikes sound,
And *Amphions* harp rais'd *Thebes* out of the ground:
That musicke could make mountaines to obay,
And stones to daunce about when they did play:
As *Orpheus* did, who with his holy song,
Lions and Tygers drew with him along.
Yet think not though gainst these of mine own coat,
I thus enveigh with loud and open throat:
But that (besides us Poets) I do see,
In other schoolemen as much vanitie,
Who do deserve worse punishment then speach,
If to the world I durst their crimes appeach.
[f] Tis not *Quintilian*, tis not he alone,
That doth his Schollers villanies bemone,

---

[f] *Quintilian* was the first famous Grammarian that ever read openly in Rome.[17]

But others, whom if here I should display,

And tell their vices, thou wouldst quickly say,

[g] That from *Pistoius* closset (not from mine)

[h] They stolne have, and from *Peter Aretine.*

From other studies, honor oft and shame

I reape, and so with pleasure mix defame:

Yet not in such wise as when I doe spie,

That Poets praise as well doe live as die.

More I doe grieve and inwardly lament,

[i] To heare how faire *Aonio* by consent,

---

[g]This was an excellent Orator, called *Giovan di Pistoia:* He wrot divers epistles in Italian, but very wanton which are much in request amongst his countrymen the Italians.[18]

[h]He meaneth from some of *Aretynes* lascivious workes, which are of great account in his cuntry. *Aretyne* was borne in *Arezzo*, a towne subject to the duke of Florence, and where excellent dishes are made of fine earth for banqueting stuffe. At first he studied divinitie: But when he saw the Court of Rome to make no account of vertuous learning, he gave over that course, and writ most villanous bookes, as *Vita delle Monache, delle Maritale, & delle Curtezani.* He was such a severe taxer of Princes faults, which lived in his time, that he was called *Flagello delli Principi,* the scourge of Princes. He died in Venice, and lieth buried in *Sebastians* Church, with this Epytaphe.

Qui iacet l Aretin Amara Tosco,
Del semen humani lacia lingua trafisse,
Et vive, & morti o Iddio mal disse:
Et si scuso con dio I nol conosco

Here biting *Aretyn* lies buried,
With gall more bitter never man was fed.
The living nor the dead to carp he spared,
Nor he for any King or Keysar cared.
Onely on God to raile he had forgot,
His scuse was this (quote he) I know him not.[19]

[i]By this covert name he bewaileth the disgrace of Poetty that is in this age.[20]

Is senselesse held without all braine or wit,
And that the winde so wavering doth not flit:
Then if from some most foolish Doctors voice,
His neare Ally in folly and in choice,
I should have heard the same, to whom some foole
(Like to him selfe) in his unlettred schoole,
The selfe same honor on his fame should clap,
With a scarlet gowne, and formall corner cap.[21]
[k] It greeves me more that weake *Placidian* still
With feasts and surfets should his old age fill,
As when he did his youths first heate enjoy,
And that from man he should become a boy:
Then for to know how that the same disease,
Andronico my neighbour doth displease,
Who hath possest it full this seaven yeare,[23]
And yet (as at the first) is nothing cleare.
If it be told me, greedy *Pandarus*[24]
Is ore much griping, *Curio*[25] Jealious,
That *Ponticus*[26] affects Idolatrie,
And *Flavius*[27] sweareth most egregiously:
It doth with spight go to my heart more neare,
Then when, for small gaines I *Cusatro*[28] heare

---

[k] Under these faigned names of *Placidian* & others which follow after, as *Andronico, Pandarus, Curio, Ponticus, Flavius, Cusatro* and the rest, hee taxeth some great men that have lived, of grievous faults.[22]

False Judgements upon any one to fix,

§Or that *Masse Baptist* doth strong poison mix

Amongst his Phisick, whilst (through trechery)

His spanish figs[30] kil us unnaturally.

Or, sith that Master in Theologie,[31]

(The counterfeit of deepe Divinitie)

Who (for the nonce) to doe his country wrong,

Mixeth his Burgamasks with the Tuscan tongue,

Keepeth in pay a sniveling durty whore,

Who at one birth two bastards to him bore:

Whilst for to please her greedy nere-fild gut,

He spends Gods cope upon that brothell slut,

Though his owne sterved mother mongst the poore

Goes up and downe, and begs from doore to doore:

Yet afterward I heare him blushlesse cry,

As if he were nought else but sanctitie.

Saying I am the man doth pray and fast,

Gives almes, and leads my life pure virgine chast,

And which is more, thou knowst, O God above,

Deare as my selfe I doe my neighbour love.

But neither this dissembling nor the rest,

Brings to my thoughts or trouble or unrest,

---

§The Poet having repeated all the grievous offences of his country, especially that of impoysoning, which is most common, cyteth one *Baptist* a notable Mountebanke, whom it was supposed, made that confection wherewith *Victorio Carumbona* impoysoned the Duke of Brachiano.[29]

So that it shall nor breake my quiet sleepe,

Nor me from foode or other pelasures keepe.

[32]It is not me, it is themselves they wound,

The sores whereof wil on their soules be found.

But to returne from whence this speech me drave,

[l] I for my sonne would such a Master have,

As by my good will with these ugly crimes,

Should nor be staind, nor challeng'd by the times:

One that would truly make him understand,

From the great language (so loved in our Land)

[m] What politicke *Ulysses* did at Troy,

Both of his travels and his sad anoy,

[n] Or all that ever *Appolonius* writ,

Or what *Euripides* (that fount of wit)

With tragedies of stately *Sophocles*,

And the Ascrean Poets[34] workes of praise.

[35]To them adde *Pindarus* whose famous bookes,

Called Galatea from the water-brookes:

With all those other writers which so long

---

[l]He meaneth *Virginio* of whom we spake of before, who afterward became a Church man, & had very good ecclesialticall livings, but his other sonne *Gian Baptista* was a soldier, & became Captain of a band of men of the Duke of Feraras, of whom he was well accounted, & lived in good esteeme with him.

[m]He meaneth *Homer* that famous Greeke Poet.

[n]*Appolonius* of the sect of *Pythagorians* wrot an excellent discourse of his travels in greeke, which is extant.[33]

Have beene renowned for the Greekish tongue,
Already hath my selfe taught him to know,
Virgil and *Ovid*, and *Horace* long agoe.
[36]*Plautus* and *Terence* he doth understand,
And oft have seene them acted in our land.
Thus (without me) by this his Latine aide,
[o] He may hereafter safe to *Delphos* traide,
Nor can he misse the way to Hellicon,
But safely to his journeys end passe on,
Yet that his journey may the safer be,
And he more strengthned by his industry,
[p] I faine would have for him a trusty guide,
Whose knowledge in these countries hath beene tride.
My slothfulnesse, or rather desteny,
[q] Forbids my selfe to keepe him company
From *Phoebus* Temple unto *Delos* Ile,
As Roman gates I opened him erewhile,
[37]My meaning is, that I am farre to seeke,
Though Latine I him taught, to teach him Greeke.
Alas, when first I was by nature given

---

[o]His meaning was when his sonne had gotten the Latine tongue perfitly, then he should learne the Greeke, and not before.

[p]*Ariostos* care is to be commended, in that he is so desirous to have a good schoolemaster for his sonne.

[q]He was sorrie he could not teach his sonne Greeke as well as hee did Latine.

To verse, and not thereto by strong hand driven:
My bloome of youth being in the first apeare,
As having on my chinne not one soft heire,
My father with all rigor of his wit,
Quickly compels me to abandon it,
To study glosses and the civill Law,
In which five yeares I spent, but no good sawe.
But when he from his wisedome did perceive
That I an endlesse web began to weave,
And that against my nature I did climbe,
The scale I loved not, and so lost my time,
With much adoe he gave me libertie,
And made his will my will accompany.
Now was I twentie yeares of age and more,
Nor had I any schoolemaster before,
So as (to tell you true) I scarse was able
To understand in *AEsope*[38] any fable,
Till smiling fortune brought me to converse,
[r] With *Gregorie* of Spoleto whose commerce,
I shall renowne and ever love his name,
Because what skill I have, from him it came.
In Romane language he was excellent,
And in the Grecian tongue as eloquent;

---

[r]This was an excellent Latinist, and a good Grecian, and the best Schoolemaster that ever *Ariosto* had.[39]

So that he well could judge from skill profound,
Whose trumpet had the shrill, or better sound,
[§]Or *Venus* sonne, or *Thetis* lovely boy:
But I in those deepe judgements tooke no joy,
Nor sought to knowe the wrath of *Hecuba*,[41]
Nor how *Ulysses* slily stole away
From valiant *Rhesus*, both his life and horse,
By art of wit, and not by manly force.[42]
For I desirous was to know at first,
Why to *AEneas*, *Juno* was so curst,
Or why her malice with prolixitie,
Held him from being king of Italie.[43]
Besides me thought no glorie would arise,
From the Greeke tongue, to me in any wise,
If first I did not Latine understand,
It being once the tongue of our owne Land.
Whilst thus the one with industry I sought,
Hoping the other would with ease be caught:
Angry occasion fled me, for because,
Offring her fore-lock, I did seeme to pause:
[§] That haplesse dutchesse tooke my *Gregorie*

[§]By the first hee meaneth *AEneas* the supposed son of the goddesse *Venus* by the other *Achylles* the son of *Thetis* goddesse of the Sea whose worths being most excellent, he thinketh none so excellent a schollar as his master *Gregory* is able to discribe them.[40]

[§]He meaneth *Isabel* daughter to *Alphonso*, king of Naples, whose husband *John Galeazzo Sforza* was duke of Millan, over which state his unkle

From me, to fix in her sonnes company,

Whose Unckle did usurpe his soverainty,

For which she saw revenge sufficiently,

(Though to her cost) alasse why was't not ment,

That he which wrongs should have the punishment!

[t] The unckle and the nephew, such was fate,

Lost at one instant, kingdome, goods, and state:

Both being convaid close prisoners into France,

One instant giving date to each mischance.

But *Gregorie* at the suite of *Isabel*,

Followed his scholler whom he lov'd so well,

[u] To France he follow'd, where he liv'd, till death

---

[s](cont.) *Lodwick* (surnamed the More, because he was of a tawny complexion) did usurpe, & in the end poisoned his foresaid nephew, who died at Pavia, after whose death his sonne called *Francis Sforza*, who married *Beaterice* the daughter of *Hercules* Duke of Ferrara, beeing very young, succeeded his father in the Dukedome, but his foresaid great unckle *Lodowick* ruled all. To this yong Duke *Francis Sforza*, was *Gregorie di Spoleto* tutor, by all the meanes of *Isabell* his mother.[44]

[t]After *Lodowick* had a while usurped upon the duchie of Milan, which belonged unto his Nephew, both he and his Nephew were betraied by the *Swizers*, & sold unto *Lewis* the 12. then King of France, who sent them prisoners to the castell of Loches, wherein they remained as long as they lived. The aforesaid *Lodowick* was a Prince most excellent for his eloquence and industry, & for many good gifts of nature and spirit, a creature of very rare perfection, had he not beene of a too ambitious and aspiring minde: others reporte that there was no commendable qualitie in him, but given to be busie headed and troublesome, setting his neighbour Princes together by the eares: he was the first which brought *Lewis* the 12. King of France into Italie, being one of the chief occasions of all the troubles that happened unto his country: others say he began an usurper, lived a dissembler, and dyed a begger, and which is worse, a wretched prisoner.[45]

[u]*Gregorie* of Spoleto following the yong Duke *Francis Sforza* into France, within a while after dyed there.

Tooke from his best of friends their best of breath.
This losse so great, with other losses more,
Which (unexspected) I with patience bore,
Made me forget the Muses, and my song,
And all that to my study did belong.
[x] Then dyed my father: from *Maria* now,
My minde I to *Maria* needs must bow,
[47]I now must finde a husband who must take
One of my sisters to his loving make.
Then for another[48] I must straight provide,
That to a lesser charge I might be tide:
[y] For though the Land came unto me as haire,
Yet others held in it with me a share.
Then to my yonger brothers was I bound,
Who me a father in my love have found,
Doing that office which most dutiously
I ought performe to sacred pietie.
Some of them unto studie did attaine,[49]
Some in the Court did covet to remaine:[50]
Each one to such good courses so well bent,

---

[x]When *Ariosto* was 24. yeeres of age, his father died (who in his youth had beene a companion of Duke *Borzo*, & after that an officer to Duke *Hercules*) leaving his mother called *Maria* to live with him, & another of his sisters called *Maria* also, for whom he was to provide a dowrie.[47]

[y]Although *Ariosto* was the eldest sonne, yet was he not left rich, because his fathers living stoode most upon offices and fees which died with him.

That to my conscience they gave good content,
Whereby I saw their vertuous infancy,
Would save their age from all indignitie:
Nor was this all the care which from my booke,
Kept my long thirsty and desiring looke:
But many more, (though these sufficient be)
That I was forc't in this extremitie,
To ty my Barke unto the safe calme shore,
Lest is should saile at randon as before,
And so unwares upon the quick-sands runne,
Whereby the rest and I might be undone.
[z] But I as then so many crosses had,
And in so many folds of griefes was clad:
That I desired nothing but my death,
As weary onely of a wearie breath.
[a] Ay me! as then my chiefest pleasure died,
The columne whereon all my hopes relied,
He whose commerce did onely joy my hart,
Gave life unto my studie, bred mine art:
Whose sweetest emulation made me runne,

---

[z]He was so much perplexed with the charge of so great a familie as he had, and with bestowing his sisters, and providing for his brothers, that he was in a maner ready to give over his study, had not the emulation which he had with a gentleman of his own name & kinne, called *Pandolpho Ariosto*, still renewed his former disposition.[51]

[a]*Pandolpho* his cheefe frend and cosin dying: he tooke his death so heavily, as for a while he gave over his booke and study.[52]

That from the world I might the goale have wun.
My kinsman, friend, my brother most, most, deare,
My heart, my soule, nay then my soule more neare,
My best *Pandolpho* died, O that my death
Had beene the happy ransome of his breath.
O hard mishap, O cruell overthrow,
That to the *Ariostian* house could grow,
To lefe their choisest branch, their garlands grace,
Whose like shall never grow in any place.
In so great honor living didst thou live,
That I but rightly said, when I did give
Thee first preheminence to vertues crowne,
In all Ferrara, or Bologna towne;
From whence thy noble ancestors first came,
And at this day doe florish in the same.
If vertue honor gives, as vice disgrace,
Then never was there any of his place,
More likelier to obtaine in each degree,
All honor, worth, and famous dignity.
Now to my fathers death, and next to his,
(Two images my soule can never misse.)
[b] Adde how I was oppressed with the thrall,

---

[b]This was *Hypolito* the Cardinall, of whom we spake so much in the first Satyre, having received but small kindnesse for his great paines in service.

Of servitude unto the Cardinall:

[53c] And yet no Prince with him may be compar'd

For bounty, though to me perpetuall hard.

For from the time Pope *Julio* was create,

Even till his breath of life did consummate,

And afterward, of *Leo* seaven yeare,[54]

He did not suffer me stay any where,

And so my wits about his workes applide,

That in no certaine place I could bide:

That from a Poet I was straight transverted,

And to a worthlesse Cavalier converted.

[d] Note then if posting alwaies up and downe,

Through Cities, Court, & every country towne,

I could the Greeke or Chaldean tongue obtaine,

Whilst to my selfe my selfe did not remaine.

Now I assure thee I do much admire,

That such a fate my fate did not acquire,

[e] As did to that Philosopher befall,

---

[c] The honest disposition of the Poet, who commendeth the Cardinall, although he had no cause thereto.

[d] This was above 18. yeeres in all, all which time he followed the Cardinals service with exceeding great paines, yet received little or no benefit.[55]

[e] *Aulus Gellius* maketh mention of a certain philosopher in Athens, who through a blow he had upon the head with the fall of a great stone, fell into such a strange infirmity, that after he was recovered he lost his memory, in such wise, that he forgot that ever he was a scholler, nor unto his death could remember that ever he knew or had any learning at all.[56]

Upon whose head a stone fell from the wall,
Whose very stroke did from his braine dissever
All former thoughts and motions whatsoever.
But to be breefe good *Bembo* I thee pray,
(Ere I too late should wish) elect the way,
To choose for my *Virginio* such a frend,
As thy best judgement may with worth commend,
That right might guide him to *Pernassus* hill,
Since I thereto have neither fate nor skill:[57]
Yet no such Pedagogue I crave as this,
Whose storie Ile relate, and this it is.
There was an youth in Spaine, of ill-bred blood, A tale.
In learning poore, but rich in worldly good,
Whose frends when he was yong put him to schoole,
But all in vaine, the foole prov'd still more foole.
At last a living of the Church there fell,
In that same towne where this rich foole did dwell:
And to the same a free schoole joyned was,
Whither the townsmens children all might passe
Gratis, and teaching have, sith stypends great,
Allotted was to th'one and th'others seate.
Now when his kinne of this had heard the fame,
They thought with coine to plant him in the same:
Meaning for schoole an usher he should have,
And for his Church some Deacon, sober, grave,

To both of which, small pensions he should give,
And on the surplussage himselfe would live:
For this was in the daies of ignorance,
When men did wealth, not worthy arts advance,
Besides they thought, by this devise to make
The world this foole for some wise *Solon* take:
When they should heare what livings he possest,
In which they none but men of note invest.
Hence from the King of Spaine by coyne they got
His royall letters, to commend this sott
Unto the Pope himselfe, for it was he,
That held this guift in his owne charitie.
Besides a privie item in them was,
His holinesse should suffer this rich asse
To be instald, and not examined,
As one whose art was onely famozed.
Onely three words of latine he was taught,
When with his letters first he should be brought
Before the Pope: which spoken artfully,
He should have his dispatch with brevity.
The first was this, making a reverence,
He onely should say, *Salve sancte parens.*[58]
The Pope then, *Unde venisti,*[59] would reply,
De Spania must he say, then by and by.
Ubi sunt litterae[60] (last), the Pope would say,

He then must answere, *In mantica mea:*[61]
And take them forth, and kissing them he shold,
Forthwith dispatcht be, with his bribing gold.
Thus being taught his lesson by his friends,
Towards Rome he hies, for there his journey tends.
But halfe the way he hardly had discernd,
Ere he had lost the Latine he had learn'd.
Now as he beat his braines againe to find,
What he had lost, though t'was out of his mind:
It fortun'd as he did amuze thereon,
To see come by a great Procession.
One of the Priests whereof did loudly sing,
Salve sancte mater,[62] that the streets did ring.
When as this dunse no sooner heard the same,
But into his dull braine forthwith it came:
Those were the words he onely had forgot,
And therefore overjoyed at his lot:
Great hast he makes to have a swift accesse,
(By meanes of friends) unto his Holinesse.
Where falling downe low, *Salve sancte mater,*
Sayes this foole Scholler, with an open clatter.
The Pope not knowing what he meant by this,
Saies, *Non sum mater Christi,*[63] you your mark do misse.
The other sencelesse (*Paraquito*[64] like)
Not knowing what he spake or wrong or right,

De Spania, did reply with count'nance bold,
The Pope, that with a frowne did him behold,
Mumbled, *Demonium habes adolescens tu;*[65]
In mantica mea, he replied, and drew
His bag, to give his letters to the Pope:
Who thinking with the Divell he should cope,
Cried out, and for to run was ready prest,
Till one of some more wit then all the rest,
Found that an Asse was in a Lions hide,
Whose base ambition all men did deride.
But when the Pope the Spanish King did see,
So earnest in this fooles behalfe to be:
And likewise did consider how much gaine,
His coffers by such *Idiots* did retaine:
Accipianus pecuniam[66] then he said,
Et admittamus Asinum[67] in his stead.
Thus was the Spaniard lightned of his gold,
And both these livings undeserv'd did hold.
Bembo, no such like Pedant do I crave,
We and the world too many of them have.
Let him be learned, and an honest man,
Let him have both these vertues if you can.
"Where vertue reigneth most, least vice is still:
"Thy judgement's good, I aske but thy good will.

The seventh and last Satyre[1]

THE ARGUMENT.

Hee sheweth that honours change manners, and that many men increasing in fortune and riches, change their first good vertues and qualities, being either unmindfull or unthankefull towards such from whom they have received former courtesies, & how his desire alwaies was to live at his study and booke quietly, and with a small living.

Written to the honorable *Bonaventer Pistofilo*, Secretary to *Alphonso* Duke of Ferrara.

Noble [a] *Pistofilo*, thou dost write to me,

If I the Dukes Embassador would be,

[b] Unto Pope *Clement*, and for three yeares space,[4]

In Rome live Ledger, with all port and grace:

---

[a] *Ariosto* writ this Satyre a little before hee got leave to give over his Liuetenancie of Graffagnana, which he so much misliked: and this *Pistofilo* being Secretary to the Duke of Ferrara, obtained licence for him to come away, not long before which time he offered him to go Embassador to Pope *Clement*, but he would not in any wise accept it.[2]

[b] *Clement* the seventh, was base sonne to *Julio* (*Leo* the tenths brother) he was called *Julio* before, & was first made knight of the *Rhodes*, by the afore named *Leo* his kinsman, and after that, Cardinall and Legat of Bologna. He was so mightie when he was Cardinal, as making his entry into two Conclaves, he was absolute commander of 16. voices. He was at last made Pope within two yeares after the death of *Leo*, notwithstanding the many obtrusions and emulations of the most ancient Cardinals. This man married *Catherine de Medices*, his Neece, unto the second sonne of *Francis* the French king: and in his time

To give thee notice, and thou wilt with paine,
To my request this suit and glory gaine.
Besides, with reasons thou dost me perswade,
That I would in this noble motion wade:
As first that all men have esteemed me,
A perfit friend unto the *Medici*:
That we acquaintance most familiarly,
Have had together, and most inwardly:
As well when they at first were banisht men,
As when their City cald them home agen.
[c] That I knew *Leo* after and before

---

[b](cont.) was Rome sacked by the Emperial armie (whereof the Duke of Burbon was General, & was slaine before the walles) and the Pope himselfe, with certaine Cardinals, taken prisoners. Hee died hated of all his Court, suspected of most Princes, & for the order of his life, he left behind him a renowne, rather hatefull then acceptable: for hee was accounted covetous, of little fidelity, and naturally farre of from doing pleasure to any man, insomuch that hee was in a manner unwilling his owne house of Medici should be advanced.[3]

[c]Although our Poet was well acquainted with Pope Leo and all the house of Medici, when they were but private Citizens, and after when they obtained greater dignities: yet hee like a wise man, looking into the world, and perceiving the fashion of courtiers, how they would give faire words, but doe few kind deedes, considering how well hee deserved at their hands, hee very cunningly drewe his necke out of the collar, and gave over the Court. But to come to *Leo* the tenth againe, he was chosen Pope, the seventh day after the Cardinals went into the Conclave, being then but 37 yeares old, the young Cardinals being the occasion of his election, by their great industry, having long time before secretly agreed amongst themselves, to create the first Pope of their number: his name was *John* before. He was a mightie Prince in his time; for he possessed in peace, and great obedience, the large estate of the Church of Rome, and his whole court flourisht wonderfully under him, in plentifull happinesse and felicitie. Hee had full authoritie over the state of Florence, which in those daies, was a common wealth mighty in people, policy, and riches. He was naturally

On crimson shooe the golden crosse he bore.[6]

Next (that besides thou thinkst, I profit should

The Dukes estate) unto my selfe it would

Exceeding gaine, and mightie profit bring,

Besides the steps of honour I should win.

That in a river great, more fish are caught,

Then in a little brooke of easie draught:

[7]That Princes services have no compare,

And where we profit find, all pleasures are.

But now that you have to my minds best eie,

Explain'd your wisedome, hearken my reply.

First to thy noble vertues thankes I give,

That thus in thy remembrance I do live:

And that I find thou alwaies didst contend,

How me unto advauncements to commend:

---

[c](cont.) inclined to pleasures, & therefore tooke no great delight in hearing of suits and busying himselfe about such affaires as concerned the Apostolicall sea: his custome was to consume the day in hearing of musicke, in seeing of stage-plaies, and trifling with scoffers and jesters, and was so effeminate, as hee was altogether estranged from warres, giving himselfe so much to ease, that he grew so corpulent and fat, as though he was but a yong man, yet was he scarce able to goe upon his legs. Besides, he was over liberall & magnificall, insomuch that he not onely wasted the treasures that *Julio* the 2. his Predecessor left him, but also was ever poore & needy. He had no great care to raise or make his great house or kindred, after his 2. brethren *Julio & Peter* were dead, being greatly unfortunate in this, that he lived to see in himself the end of his own house, excepting one yong maiden, who was called *Katherine de Medices*, of whom we spake before. He died in Rome of a fever; But as some say, he was poisoned by *Barneby Malespina*, his Chamberlain, whose office was alwaies to give him drink, & it was thought he was hired therunto by the French king then living.[5]

[8]Seeking to make me worthy as the best,
When my dull spirit with no fire was blest.
Next, I assure thee, willingly I wold,
Passe fire, or flood, or any freezing cold,
To serve the Duke: nor shalt thou me command,
To Rome alone, but every other land
Ile post through willingly, and trie the fate
Of Fraunce, of Spaine, or of the Indian state.
But where thou saiest, that I shall honours gaine,
And to my selfe a world of wealth attaine,
If that thou thinkest will move, then pardon me,
For in that point I cannot jump with thee:
[d] Other devices must allure my minde,
Ambition in my thoughts I never find,
Honour I have too much, I none do lacke,
And faine I would discharge some from my backe.
It shall suffice, as through Ferrara I
Walke, to dispatch my businesse seriously:
Each one that meetes me, gives me courtesie,
Vaileth his hat, and speaketh thankfully:
[e] For all men know it oft hath pleas'd his grace,
That I at his owne table should take place.

---

[d]*Vulpes annosa haud capitur laqueo. Ariosto* had tried the Court so often, where he found onely words & no deedes.[9]

[e]*Alphonso* duke of Ferrara used him very kindly, making him in some sort his companion, though otherwise hee got little in his service.

Nor when or for my selfe, or for my frend,
I do the weight of any suit commend,
Am I repulst: but what I wish to draw,
(So it agree with reason or the Law)
And if (although my mind be satisfide,
With all that doth in honours power abide)
I had so much of wealth that my desire,
Unto a greater height could not aspire:
I then should quiet be, where now my minde,
To keepe a compasse right, I never find.
I for my selfe but this wish and no more,
That I might live, not beg of others store.
Which henceforth ile not hope for, since I prove,
So many mightie men have vow'd my love,
As might have made me rich, and yet refused,
(For little I have had, and lesse have used)
Whence growes the cause that thus I poorely serve,
Although I might say, better I deserve.
[f] I will not that the power which once was slow,
From carelesse *Epimetheus* crue to go:
Shall draw me like a Buffone[11] by the nose,
Nor will I more delight in flattering shoes.

---

[f]Fortune is fained by the Poets, to be slow in escaping from the vessel of *Epimetheus:* that is, an after wit is better then a forewit, a good lucke commeth not so soone as an ill. Of this *Epimetheus*, you may read more in *Plato*.[10]

Much doth the painted turning wheele[12] me feare,
Which after one selfe manner every where
Is drawne by painters: true t'is like to be,
When as so many in one thing agree.
[g] He that sits on the top thereof's an Asse,
All know this riddle, and may let it passe
Without a *Sphynx* which may the same expound,
The meaning with such easinesse is found.
[14h] Besides, tis seene that all which mount on hie,
Eftsoones refine their members curiously.
[i] And what of earth behind doth heavy stay,
That keepes him backe in all things as it may.
The very hope it selfe to mind I call,
Which with the leaves and flowers came first of all,
But after she fled away: nor did September,
Expect all this, and more I can remember,
[k] The day the Church was unto *Leo* given,

---

[g]Alluding to the common saying *Fortuna favet fatuis*: for commonly it is seene, who deserveth best, findeth least favour at her hands.[13]

[h]He saith that every one that is lifted up upon the wheele of Fortune looketh hie, forgetting his old friends, & becommeth a new man as it were, not remembring his old poore acquaintance, with whom he so familiarly conversed before.

[i]Meaning honours changeth manners: Affirming that a meane man raised to dignity, and then humbling himselfe, as he did before, shall bee rather hindred then advanced thereby, and therefore he must keepe state still.

[k]He meaneth *Leo* the tenth of whom wee spake before.

For spouse, and (for her dowry) endlesse living:
When at that mariage, I so many saw,
Of my best friends, who then to Rome did draw,
On whom fair, scarlet honours were bestow'd:[15]
Whilst I lived still with my poore needy load,
The Calends came, the Ides were past and gone,[16]
Yet I of any was not thought upon.
I could not be remembred, and yet I
Remember this, and shall do till I die.
[1] O t'is most vaine, for man on man to trust,
Ile none beleeve, they all are most unjust.
That day came down from heaven fond foolish hope
And went to forraine soiles, when first the Pope
Imbrac't and kist me (though it was unmeet)
Whilest prostrate I fell downe before his feet.
But afterwards, when I perceiv'd that nought,
(Save aire of words) his favours to me brought:
And that experience taught me how to know,
That onely shadowes from such grace did flow:
I then began to give despaire my hand,
And plainly saw, I fisht on the drie land:
And since that time I vow'd, none to beleeve,
Nor more (for what I cannot have) to greeve.

---

[1] An excellent saying of *Ariosto*, and a worthy precept to know the inconstancie of common friendship.

[m] There was a *Gourd* or *Mellon*, long agoe,
That (in a while shot up) so high did grow,
As it a Peare-tree (neighbour by) so coverd,
That with her leaves, his boughes were welny smotherd.
Now this same Peare-tree on a morning chaunst
To ope his eies, and round about him glaunst:
For he had slept a mightie sleep and long,
And seeing how this new fruit did him wrong,
Said unto it: What art thou, and what chaunce,
Makes thee so soone thy proud head to advaunce?
Where wert thou hid, when I fell first asleepe,
That ore my head, thus proudly thou dost peepe?
The Gourd told him her name, & shew'd the Place,
Where on the ground below she planted was:
And that in three months space, it did attaine,
Unto that height in which it did remaine.
And I (replide the tree) with mightie feare,
Have hardly got this tallnesse which I beare:
Although this thirtie yeares I here have growne,
And have all seasons and all weathers knowne.

---

[m] He applieth his hasty posting to Rome, to be advanced by *Leo* when hee was made Pope (of which hee was deceived) and the suddaine rising of Leo and the *Medici*, & his chiefe friends to the sprouting of this Gourd, which as it rose hastily, so did it fal suddainly, and so did they all, *Ariosto* of his expectation, the Pope and al his followers of their glorie.

But thou which in the twinkling of an eie,
Hast rais'd thy faire head even into the skie,
Assure thy selfe as thou art grown in hast,
With selfe like speed, thy glories all shall wast.
Even so my hopes which made me posting come,
My vaine fond hopes, which brought me first to Rome,
Might well have said, I came in fitter time,
[n] Even when the *Medici* were in their prime.
That I did help them when they did remaine
Exiles, and sought to bring them home again:
And that to make the Lambe like *Leo* prove
A Princely Lyon I did thither move.

---

[n]Although the chiefe of the house of *Medici*, had but ill fortune, which were Pope *Leos* brethren, yet *Clement* his kinseman, who within two yeares after succeeded him in the Papacie, raised up again (although in a manner constrained therunto) his family in Florence; for hee sent for his nephew *Alexander*, out of Flaunders, where he followed the Emperour *Charles* the fift, who comming to Florence, proclaimed himself absolute Duke of that City. He married the Emperours base daughter, and carried himselfe very stoutly towards the people, insomuch as in the end hee was slaine by a kinseman of his owne, called *Laurence di Medices*; who thereupon fled to Venice, & was afterward slaine by certaine men, in hope of a reward which was proclaimed to be given to him that could take the murtherer either alive or dead. *Alexander* being thus dispatcht, *Cosimo* the son of *John di Medices*, was chosen Duke of the Florentins, who lived some 23. yeares after his election. He married *Don Diego di Tolledos* daughter, Viceroy of Naples, & had divers children by her, of which *Francesco* succeeded him & after his death then *Ferdinando* his brother who was called *Ferdinando di Medices, gran Duca di Tuscano*. This *Ferdinando* married the daughter of the Duke of Lorrain, grandchild & executrix to *Katherine di Medices*, late Queene mother of Fraunce.[17]

[o] He that had held *Charles Sosinas* brave spright,

Would then perhaps have said in open sight,

[p] When he had heard *Lorenzo* to be nam'd

By stile of Duke and with that title fam'd:

[q] He to Duke *Nemours* would as much have said,

And not of scornefull eies have stood afraid,

---

[o]This *Sosina* was a noble man of Romagna in Italy, allied to the Strozzi of Florence, and therefore one that could not brooke the greatnesse of the *Medici*.[18]

[p]When *Leo* the tenth was Pope (as I said before) hee unjustly expulst the Duke of Urbin out of his lawfull estate, & placed his nephew *Laurence* in that Dukedome, who had to wife through the favour of *Francis* the French King, Lady *Magdalena*, nobly descended of the Duke of Bullion, with a yearely revenewe of ten thousand crownes, during her life. But this mariage proved but fatall unto them both, for after hee had beene a while in France where he consumated his wedding, his wife died, and he within a while after followed her, leaving none other heire of his bodie lawfully begotten, then one young daughter called *Katherine* who as I said before, was maried to the French King *Henry* the second: she dyed in *Anno* 1588, about the same time that the Duke of Guise was slaine in the Castle of Bloise by her sonne *Henry* the third, king of France and *Poland*. In this foresaid *Katherine* ended the direct and right line (speaking of those which were lawfully begotten) of *Cosimo di Medices*, surnamed the great. The aforenamed *Laurence*, was a man of great hope for his yeares, for his valour and learning, and was a great *Maecenas* and favourer of the learned: he left a base sonne behind him called *Alexander* first Duke of Florence, who, as I said but even now, was afterward slaine by his owne kinsman.[19]

[q]He meaneth *Don Julian*, Pope *Leos* brother, who died of a consuming and languishing disease in Florence, whose wife *Philiberta* of Savoy, although she was but yong, and with all passing faire, when her husband left her widowe, notwithstanding she had many great offers of diverse Princes which then lived: yet did she (to the wondring of every one) give over the world voluntarily, retiring her selfe into a Nunnery, which she her selfe had built, where she lived in devotion unto her dying daie.[20]

[r] Unto the Cardinall of Rosi, and

[s] To *Bibiena* (mightie rich in land)

Who had bene better much if he had staid

[t] At Torsy, then a red hat to have swaid.

[v] He would have said unto *Contesina*,

[x] To *Magdalena* (beautious at that day)

[26y] Unto the daughter and the Mother in lawe,

[z] And all that house which every one then saw

Orecome with joy, even thus I say, he wold

Talke to the worlde with courage strong and bold,

---

[r]This was a noble man of Florence, a follower of the *Medices*, and by *Leo* made Cardinall.[21]

[s]He meaneth *Barnard Divitio* of Bibiena, who was a mightie man of wealth, and a true friend unto the *Medices* in all their troubles, aiding them continually with men and money. A man of that good conscience, that *Don Julio* Duke of Nemours made him his executor when he died, although as then he had two brethren alive, which were Pope *Leo* and *Peter* the eldest of the three.[22]

[t]Torsy was *Bibienas* cheefe house or place, not farre from Casentino. The Poet saith, he had beene better to have lived quietly at home, then to have beene Cardinall, because it cost him so much in assisting the *Medices* in their troubles, and againe, because, hee did not long enjoy that honour, but dyed.[23]

[v]*Contesina* is the name of *Leo* the tenths mother.[24]

[x]This was the King of France his kinswoman, & wife to *Laurence* the Popes nephew, of whom wee spake before.[25]

[y]This was *Alfonzina* the Popes sister, & mother unto *Laurence di Medices*, unto whom *Leo* graunted a donation of the profits, and exactions of the indulgences in many places in Germany, upon which occasion *Martin Luther* began first to take exception against the Pope for the same, and so consequently against the popish religion.[27]

[z]The coronation of *Leo* was so sumptuous and costly, that many tooke exceptions against the same, as in Guychardine more at large apeareth.[28]

Thy similie most properly applide,
May be to them which doe with greatnesse bide:
For as their joies above all joies did runne,
So shall they quickly fade and be undone.
[a] All men must die, their time indures not ever,
And this strong fate can be eschewed never:
That *Leo* also shall his life resigne
Ere Troies first founder shall into the signe
Turne eight times:[30] this as gospell is most true,
For so each thing did afterwards ensue.
But to spend much idle talke herein,
I say, I first of all did then begin,
To give ore all my more then foolish hope,
When I got nothing of my best knowne Pope.
If *Leo* gave my fortunes nothing, then
Tis vaine to hope for gaine from other men.
(Deare Lord) thou must with other hookes and draught
Fish for me, if thou looke I shall be caught:
But if perforce thou wilt have me to goe,

---

[a]All that were at the coronation of *Leo* in their jollitie (I meane the greatest persons) died within a while after, first *Peter* the elder brother was drowned, *Julian* the second consumed to death shortly after, *Laurence* their nephew died of a languishing disease in France, and his wife a little before him, left her life there also, so likewise *Contesina* the Popes mother, *Alfonzina* his sister, the Cardinals of Rossi and Bibiena, yea and the Pope *Leo* himselfe, all these I say dyed one after another in a short sapce, as namely in the space of eight yeares and lesse.[29]

Thy will be done, and I am prest thereto:
Yet honour shall not move me, Riches lesse,
For neither of them both I would possesse:
Honor I scorne, for tis meere vanity,
And riches mix not with my desteny.
[b] Say rather I shall leave this place I keepe,
Nor longer with these barbarous people sleepe,
More rude then are the rocks wherin they dwell,
So rude their maners are, and wrath so fell,
Say, I shall not be troubled, some to fine,
Some to exile, to kill or to confine:
Whilst I complaine that force doth oversway
All reason, yet that force I must obay.
Tell me I shall have leasure and fit time
To talke unto the Muses in sweete rime,
And midst faire groaves and arbors to devise
The strength of verse and rarely poetize.
[c] Tell me, with *Sadolet*, with *Bembo*, *Jovio*,
With *Molza*, *Vida* and with *Blosio;*
With *Tibaldo* and *Pontanus*, and the rest,

---

[b] He intreateth (rather then to be troubled any more) to be rid first of his liuetenancy of Graffignana, the country beeing so full of factions and division, & such a number of rebels & *Bandits* swarming every where, as he was in a maner wearie of his life.

[c] These are the names of certaine learned men, then abiding in Rome, and familiar friends and acquaintances with our Poet.[31]

I may live at mine ease, most happy blest,
Taking for guide, which of them best doth please me:
Or altogether jointly fit and ease me,
Whilst they to me old Romes antiquitie,
Discribe at large with grave authority:
[d] Saying here *Circus* was, and here did stand
Forum Romanum, and here on this hand
[e] *Saburra* stoode, this *Sacer Clivus*[33] was,
And now by *Vestaes* Temple you do passe:[34]
Tell me, I cannot any thing indite,
(Nor of what subject best shall please me write)
But I may counsaile have and take advise,
If any doubt doth in the Author rise:
That out of Latine, Tuscan, or of Greeke,
I may translate, or any pleasure seeke.
Besides the number great thou maist me tell,
Of worthy ancient bookes which doe excell:
[f] All which Pope *Sistus* through the world of late,

---

[d]Circus was a place like our tilt-yards, where the ancient Romanes used to runne with Charriots and horses for certaine games or prises.

[e]Saburra was a street most of all frequented in Rome, by reason there dwelled many Curtezans, for *Ubi cadaver ibi Corvi* and therefore like enough to give occasion of much quarell and misrule amongst youths, as appeareth by *Juvenall* and *Martiall* in these verses.

Famae, non nimium bonae puellae,
Quales in media sedent Saburra.[32]

[f]One of the rarest libraries in the world, built in the Popes pallace of Saint *Peter* in Rome by *Sistus Quartus*, and much augmented by

Did gather for the good of publick state,
[36]whilst this rare library each one may use,
And what him list may from it cul and chuse.
Now when such proffers thou shalt make to me,
Of noble worth, account and dignitie,
And yet this Journey I refuse nere-lesse,
Thou then maist say that frenzy doth possesse,
My troubled braine, and melancholy fits,
Hath brought distemperature unto my wits.
But I, instead of answering thee, wil play
[g] As did *Emillius* once, who forth did lay
His foote unto his friend, saying you see
How cleane my shoe is made, how neate, how curiously,
And yet for all this, little dost thou know,
Where it doth wring me, or doth gall my toe.
He takes me from my selfe that doth remove
My bodie from the native soile I love:
For being absent thence, I cannot live,

---

[f](cont.) *Sistus Quintus*, it is thought there are not so fewe as ten thousand bookes little & great within the same.[35]

[g]This *Emilius* was a noble Roman, who having maried a marvailous faire & beautifull yong Lady, put her away, and being blamed of his friends for so doing, held out his foote unto them, saying, see you this my shooe how fine it is made, how well it fits upon my foote, and how handsome it is for me, none of you all knoweth in what parte of my foote it wringeth and pincheth me: even so my wife, although as you say, she is faire, courteous, wittie and well spoken, yet none of you know in what sort she offendeth me.[37]

Yea, lay I in *Joves* lap, I yet should grieve:
And should I not be daily one of those,
Who for their morning walks with pleasure goes
[h] Betweene the *Domo* of Ferrara, and
Those famous statues which richly stand,
Of my two noble Marquesses, then I
Should die with greefe, to want that liberty,
[39]And leaner would my visage be then his,
Whose lips the water and the fruit doth kisse:
Yet hath no power either of both to taste,
But pines with hunger, and away doth waste.
[40]*Francis* the first French king that bare that name,
One day by fortune unto Paris came,
And by a wealthy Burgesse feasted was,
Whose sumptuous cheare and bounty did surpasse.
Now whilst the King amongst his minions sate,
And merrily discour'st of every state:
Each one began to tell some wondrous thing,
And mongst the rest one told unto the king,
That at that time within the Cittie was
And old man living, who by gesse did passe
The age of fourescore yeares, yet nere was seene,
Out of the walles of Paris to have beene.

---

[h] He meaneth the two statues in the market place of Ferrara as you go to the *Domo*, (which is the Cathedrall Church of the same Citie) the one of *Lionel*, and the other of *Borzo*, two Princes of the house of Este.[38]

The King admiring at this tale, straight sent
For this old man to come incontinent,
And of him did demand if true it was,
That he beyond those walles did never passe:
Or whether feare or love became the cause,
Which his affections to such straitnes drawes?
The old man thus replide, So please your grace,
I was born, bred, and brought up in this place,
And now I am fourescore and ten above,
In all which time my foot did never move
Out of the cities gates, though men of worth,
Have by intreaty sought to get me forth:
So that twas not command, but mine owne will,
Which in this towne hath thus confind me still:
Besides no motion in my minde hath moved,
From whence the countries sight should be beloved.
Well then replide the King, since this long space
Thou freely with thy friends hast held this place,
Henceforth I charge thee on the paine of death,
Thou not presum'st so long as thou hast breath,
To looke beyond these walles, for I intend,
As thou has lived, so thou shalt make an end.
The poore old man, who never long'd before
To go out of the towne or out of dore,
As long as it was in his libertie:

Now that he saw he to the contrary
Commanded was, with a most strange desire,
To see the country he is set on fire:
But seeing by constraint he thus was tide
Against his will, for very greefe he dide.
Noble *Pistophilo*, no such minde I hould
As this old man did, but I rather would
Live in Ferrara ever from my birth,
Then any forraine nation of the earth:
Yet should I be compeld to leave that place,
And goe to Rome, it would be lesse disgrace,
Then to continue in this hellish soile,
Where nothing is but trouble and turmoile:
But if my Lord intend me any favour,
O let him call me home, or send me rather
[i] Unto Argento, Bondena, or where
He can devise, so I may not live here.
[42]If needs I must be made a toiling beast,
I faine would have my burthen with the least:
No packhorse, but a foote cloath would I be,
For they but one man carie easily.
To serve the Duke my soule did never grudge,

---

[i]Argento & Bondena are Cities belonging to the Dukedome of Ferrara, to which *Ariosto* was often sent by the Duke, & many times up and downe about his business, which hee misliked very much.[41]

Onely I greeve to be a common drudge,
But now if you demand the reason why,
I love mine owne home thus exceedingly,
I will as willingly the same confesse,
As I my grievous sins doe more or lesse,
Plainely discharge to my Confessors eares,
When at the shrift he all mine errours heares.
And yet I know, that thus replie you can,
And say: loe heere a perfit well stai'd man,
Of fourescore nine yeares[43] at the least, and yet,
[44]Of youths worst loosnesse he must have a fit,
[k] So much to pleasure he his minde doth give,
That without wantonesse he cannot live:
But it is well for me, that I can hide
Myselfe within this valley where I bide,
And that an hundred miles thy purer eie,
Cannot extend to see my vanity:
Or whether pale or red, I chaunce to looke,
When with escapes I suddainly am tooke.
For then thou shouldst perceive, I blusht for shame,
Although my letter doe not shew the same:
[l] And thou wouldst thinke that neither old dame *Amber*,

---

[k]Hee frankly confesseth that hee cannot live except hee enjoy the company of his Mistresse.

[l]The first a notable old mother baud, and the other a famous Courtezan of Ferrara, in those daies.[45]

Nor her young daughter (good stuffe in an chamber)[46]
For all their varnish, looked halfe so red:
Or that old father *Canon* lately dead,[47]
When he let fall amidst the market place,
A bottle full of wine (with foule disgrace)
Which from a Frier he had but stolne before,
Besides (which were about him found) two more.
Were I but with thee now a while, I doubt
Thy love would with my folly have about:
And with a cudgell, thou wouldst beat me well,
To heare these frantike reasons which I tell,
And do alleage to live where as thou art,
For were I with thee, I would never part:
[48]But nature and my duty bids me serve
My Prince and country, as they do deserve,
[m] Although there is another whom I would
Rather attend on, if get leave I could.
Great Lord, thou art a Courtier by thy place,
And maiest command, for thou hast speciall grace:
The Dukes chieef Secretary thou onely art,
And mak'st him blest that lives within thy hart.
[n] Although thou little in thy stature be,

---

[m]He meaneth his Mistresse, whom he saith he had rather attend on, then upon any Prince in the world.

[n]This *Pistofilo*, Secretary to *Alphonso*, Duke of Ferrara, was a man low of stature, and little in body, but of so excellent a wit, and happy

The great'st in Court are glad to crouch to thee:
And truly worthy art thou of thy place,
Since to all vertues thou dost give all grace.
Wisely thou dost, for better t'is the love
Of people, then their hatred to approve:
Chiefly where Princes as their fancies range,
Their favorites do often chop and change.
But yet for all these caps and bended knees,
Which done unto thee of all sorts thou see's:
Sir (by your leave) for all your gallant glory,
You sometimes feele what makes you sad and sory.
Oft do you wish, deny it if you can,
That you might live like to a private man.
Courts have their crosses, kingly crownes their cares,
Who merriest lives, best of all men fares.

---

[n](cont.) memory, that in none lived in those daies like unto him. Besides hee was of a sweet conversation, and an humble carriage towards all men, insomuch as being of the Dukes privy Counsell, hee was greatly favoured and beloved, as wel of his Prince as of the people. Duke *Alphonso*, would merrily say, that what through his little *Pinace*, the *Bonaventure* and his strong Castell *Barletto* (alluding to the name of his Secretary, which was *Bonaventer Postophilo* and his chiefe General of all his forces, called *Galeazo Barletto*, a famous Soldier) he thought himselfe strong inough to encounter with any of his neighbour Princes. This Secretary was an inward friend and of great acquaintance with *Nicholas Machivel*, and *Peter Aretine*, who lived in the raigne of Henry the eight, of famous memory King of England. He died in Ferrara, but his body with solemne pompe was convaied to be buried at Modena, where he was borne, it being interred in the Monasterie of S. *Francis*, there where his monument is at this day to be seene.[49]

Unto no Embassie do me preferre,

But to my Mistresse, I would go to her.

[o] Intreat the Duke I may come home againe,

And thats the boone I crave of all thy paine:

Let him but me unto Ferrara call,

And thou shalt have my thankes, life, soule and all.

---

[o]*Pistofilo* performed this request of *Ariosto*, for within a while after, he had libertie to come to Ferrara, where he lived quietly, and in great credit, untill his dying day.

FINIS.

EXPLANATORY NOTES

The Argument

1. Ariosto entered the household of Ippolito d' Este in 1503 at the age of twenty-nine.
2. This description of Ippolito is taken verbatim from Harington's "Life" (McNulty, p. 571).
3. This part of the account of Ippolito and Giulio, which took place on 1 November 1505, is based closely on that given by Guicciardini (Alexander, p. 188). The young lady has been identified as Angela Borgia, Lucrezia's eighteen-year-old cousin and lady-in-waiting, who was pregnant by Giulio, Ercole's illegitimate son.
4. Tofte's chronology of events is wrong. Immediately after the attack on Giulio, Ippolito fled into exile beyond the borders of Ferrara. But he returned soon thereafter at the request of Alfonso, who attempted to effect a public show of reconciliation between the two brothers. Giulio would not be reconciled. He orchestrated an assassination attempt against Ippolito and Alfonso, which eventually led to a fifty-three year imprisonment (Orville Prescott, Princes of the Renaissance [New York, 1969], p. 236). Pope Julius II began his persecution of the Estensi in 1506. Until his death in 1513, the warlike Pope waged a determined campaign against them, vainly attempting to seize Ferrara and to have Alfonso killed.

4. (cont.) Julius did not, as Tofte's note implies, seek revenge on Ippolito for the attack on Giulio; however, at one point during the seven year period of hostilities, Julius demanded the release of Giulio from prison as a condition of peace between the Vatican and the Estensi. Ippolito's departure for Hungary, which provided the occasion of Satire 1, occurred in 1517, twelve years after the attack on Giulio and four years after the death of Pope Julius.
5. Ariosto made frequent journeys to Rome and to Florence on behalf of his employers, Cardinal Ippolito and Duke Alfonso, but he always 'retired to live privately' in Ferrara.
6. In his immediate family were ten children: the poet, four brothers, and five sisters.
7. See Satire 6, ll. 309-36. Tofte's estimate of Pandolfo's influence is based closely on that of Harington in the "Life" (McNulty, p. 571).
8. Ariosto's first Canzone, "Non so s'io potrò ben chiudere in rima" (Segre, pp. 109-114), describes the poet's initial infatuation with Alessandra Benucci, who eventually became his wife.
9. In 1518 Ariosto entered the service of Alfonso as a gentleman-of-the-chamber; Ippolito died in 1520.
10. Should be "fifth"; see Satire 4, Explanatory Note 1.
11. This entire paragraph is based closely on Harington's "Life" (McNulty, pp. 577-78).

Satire 1

1. On 25 October 1517 Cardinal Ippolito d' Este left Ferrara for a lengthy stay at his Bishopric of Eger near Budapest. Ariosto, who had served as a factotum to the Cardinal since 1503, refused Ippolito's request to accompany him into Hungary, and the Cardinal, who viewed Ariosto's refusal as a sign of ingratitude, threatened to take away the poet's benefices. Ariosto would not capitulate. With Ippolito's departure, a permanent separation between the poet and his employer of fourteen years occurred. This satire was written sometime after September 8 (Ariosto's forty-third birthday) but before the end of November (the approximate date of Satire 2), most likely in the final days before, or shortly after, Ippolito's departure.
2. The poet's youngest brother Alessandro Ariosto (1492-1569) served the Cardinal from 1507 to 1520 and accompanied him into Hungary.
3. Ludovico da Bagno, the Cardinal's secretary from 1506, was the godfather to Ariosto's son Virginio (Wiggins, p. 5) and a favorite of Isabella d'Este (Gardner, p. 48).
4. For "my friend" the Italian reads "mio Bagno."
5. The Italian, which lacks any specific reference to actors (l. 28) or to action by a political body (l. 30), attacks all flatterers who consent eagerly to the wishes of their Lord.
6. For "discommend" (l. 37) the Italian reads "biasmare" (blame), and for "reputation" (l. 38) reads "laude" (praise). On a rhetorical

6. (cont.) basis, satire belongs to the category of praise and blame (*laus et vituperatio*).

7. Giovanni Andrea Valentino, a Modenese physician and friend of Ippolito; Guido Silvestri (Postumo), a physician of Ippolito's court (Segre, p. 500). Valentino accompanied Ippolito into Hungary, but Silvestri avoided the trip (Wiggins, p. 22). Ariosto compliments Silvestri in the Orlando Furioso as one "about whose honoured brow/Phoebus and Pallas bind a double bough" (XLII.89.8-9), alluding to his reputation as poet and physician. Tofte's biographical note on Guido Postumo Silvestri is probably fictitious.

8. Lines 65-72, which emphasize the order in Italy over against the chaos in Hungary, are not found in the Italian.

9. For "Charterhouse close Frier" the Italian reads "certosino," i.e., Carthusian monk.

10. Ariosto does not mention Timon. Tofte's note calls the reader's attention to Timon's reputation as a misanthrope, an association commonly accepted by Elizabethans because of descriptions of him in North's Plutarch and Lucian's Timon. The Timon reference itself may be another example of Tofte's fondness for including allusions to Shakespeare in his own works. Although Timon of Athens, which is usually dated between 1605 and 1608, was probably never performed during Shakespeare's lifetime, Tofte's reference may indicate his knowledge of the play's existence. Robert C. Elliott suggests in The Power of Satire (Princeton, 1960) that the

10. (cont.) Elizabethans viewed Timon as a satirist-figure (p. 159). Tofte, however, does nothing to encourage this identification.

11. For lines 117-118, the Italian reads:

> S'io vorò de le cose ch'avrà tolte
> Francesco de Siver per la famiglia,
> potrò mattina e sera averne molte.

(11. 70-72)

"If I deserved some of the stuff Francesco di Siver scrapes up for the servants, morning and evening I could have my fill" (Wiggins, p. 9). Francesco di Siver, the "spenditore" for Ippolito's court, was in charge of the daily acquisitions of foodstuffs (Segre, p. 502). Tofte's connecting him with Borzo d' Este, the first Duke of Ferrara, has no basis in fact. So far as is known, Borzo had no children (Prescott, p. 196).

12. The story of Ariosto and the potter is told in Harington's "Life of Ariosto," (McNulty, pp. 575-76).

13. Between lines 134 and 135, Tofte omits the translation of six lines of the Italian:

> Mi potreste anco dir: --De li tuoi scotti
> fa che 'l tuo fante comprator ti sia;
> mangia i tuoi polli alli tua alari cotti.--
> Io, per la mala servitude mia,
> non ho dal Cardinale ancora tunto
> ch'io possa fare in corte l'osteria.

(11. 82-87)

"You might also tell me, 'Make your servant the purchaser of your share out of your own pocket; eat your chickens cooked over your own grill.' I, in return for my wretched servitude, have not as

13. (cont.) yet, from the Cardinal, acquired enough to equip a hostelry at the court" (Wiggins, p. 11).

14. The antecedents of "your" are "Apollo" (l. 135) and "Muses" (l. 136).

15. Lines 145-148 are not found in the Italian.

16. For "banco" the Italian reads "Barco." Segre identifies it as a private game preserve of the House of Este located in a large meadow north of Ferrara.

17. "Bergamaskes" is used here as an antonomasia for industrial workers, in this case nail-makers. In Ariosto's time, Bergamo was an important industrial center in northern Italy.

18. On 1 October 1516 Ippolito "granted to Ariosto the entire office of the Curia of Ferrara and one third of the fruits of that of Milan, for life, and took the necessary steps both at Milan and in the Papal Court, to ensure his possession of them, increasing the Milanese benefice to half in the following August" (Gardner, p. 123).

19. For "Virgil" (l. 181) the Italian reads "Maron," i.e., Andrea Marone of Brescia, a poet of Ippolito's court who failed in competition against fellow poet Celio Calcagnini for the privilege of following the Cardinal into Hungary (Segre, p. 504). Marone is also mentioned in the Orlando Furioso (III.56.8). Tofte evidently misunderstood Maron as Maro, i.e., Virgil. See line 275 and the accompanying note.

20. For lines 195 and 196, the Italian reads: "questa condizion non ti si muta" (l. 123); "this condition of yours will never change" (Wiggins, p. 13).

21. Buda was one of the four towns that were joined together in 1872 to form Budapest: Buda and O-Buda on the right bank of the Danube, and Pest and Kobanya on the left bank. Osen is the German name for Buda. In 1526 the Turks invaded Pest, and from 1541 to 1686 Buda was the seat of a Turkish pasha. Agria (medieval Latin for Eger) is ninety miles ENE of Budapest. In 1552, the town repulsed a Turkish assault, but in 1596 it was taken by the Turks and occupied until 1687. Julius II was pope from 1503 to 1513; contrary to Tofte's statement, Ippolito was in Eger infrequently during this period.

22. Rogero is celebrated in the Orlando Furioso as the progenitor of the House of Este: "good Rogero, valient peer,/The ancient root of thine illustrious race" (Orlando Furioso, ed. Stewart Baker and A. B. Giamatti [Indianapolis, The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1968], I.4.3-4). Tofte's note, which is based on information given in the Orlando Furioso (XXXVI.59-84), is essentially correct. Ariosto, however, traces Rogero's ancestry to Hector (XXXVI.70.1-2).

23. For "homely food," the Italian reads "giande" (acorns); in the Golden Age, says Ovid (Metamorphoses, I, 106), men lived on acorns and enjoyed the simple life (Wiggins, p. 23).

24. Ariosto's dealings with Pope Julius II are discussed at length by Gardner (pp. 69-105). Tofte's note is taken almost verbatim from Harington's "Life" (McNulty, p. 572).

25. Tofte fails to identify "Artofilace a l'Orse" (l. 159) as a reference to the star Arcturus in the constellation Boötes;

25. (cont.) Arcturus is positioned behind Ursa Major. The literal meaning of "Arctophylax" is 'the one who guards the bear.'

26. Tofte fails to identify Andrea Marone and Celio Calcagnini as poets in the court of Ippolito. See Explanatory Note 19 above.

27. For lines 309-310, the Italian reads: "Aver cagion di non venir me doglio" (l. 193); "it grieves me to have reasons not to come" (Wiggins, p. 17).

28. Tofte's note contains many inaccuracies. For *Cleanthus* (l. 322), the Italian reads "mio Cleandro," identified by Segre as the character in Ariosto's I Suppositi who is driven from Otranto to Ferrara by the Turks (p. 508). Carlo (1485-1527), a grain and cattle merchant, was in Naples; Galasso (1490-1546), whom Tofte ignores in the note, was in Rome in the service of Cardinal Cibo; Gabriel (1477-1549), a semi-paralytic, wrote La Scholastica, a revision of Ariosto's unfinished comedy I Studenti.

29. Taddea (1493-1520), Ariosto's youngest sister.

30. For lines 345-346, the Italian reads: "Io son de dieci il primo, e vecchio fatto/di quarantaquattro anni" (l. 217-218); "I am the first of ten, and aged forty-four years" (Wiggins, p. 19). Ariosto was forty-three on September 8, 1517, i.e., entering into his forty-fourth year. "Knowne" (l. 346) distorts the meaning of the Italian, and appears to be used only for the purposes of the rime scheme.

31. In the beginning of the Orlando Furioso, Ariosto addresses Ippolito:

31. (cont.)

> For though all hope to quit the score were vain,
> My pen and page may pay the debt in part;
> Then, with no jealous eye my offering scan,
> Nor scorn my gift who give thee all I can
>
> (Baker and Giamatti, I.3.5-8)

32. For lines 365-368, the Italian reads:

> Io, stando qui, farò con chiara tromba
> il suo nome sonar forse tanto alto
> che tanto mai non si levò colomba.
>
> (11. 229-231)

"Dwelling here, I will with a shining clarion make his name ring out higher perhaps than ever flew a dove" (Wiggins, p. 19). Tofte evidently misread "colomba" (1. 231) as "colonna" (pillar) and used the phrase "Gadean pillars strand" to mean the pillars of Hercules, the opposite promontories at the entrance of the Mediterranean torn apart by Hercules on his way to Gades (Cadiz).

33. The Italian reads "scudi" for "crownes." "The scudo was a coin of either gold or silver used as late as the nineteenth century, roughly equivalent in value to the crown or the dollar. Apparently the flavin, the ducat, and the scudo had approximately the same value at this time, for Ariosto uses them interchangeably" (Edmond Beame and Leonard Sbrocchi, The Comedies of Ariosto [Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1975], p. 157, n. 4).

34. Segre (p. 510) notes that this tale is based on Horace's fable of the weasel and the fox (Satires, I.7.29-33). Wiggins discusses the appropriateness of this tale to Ariosto's relationship with Ippolito (p. xxii).

35. For line 409, the Italian reads: "A vomitar bisogna che cominci/ c'io c'hai nel corpo" (ll. 259-260); "you must begin by vomiting up all that which you have taken into your carcass" (Wiggins, p. 21).

Satire 2

1. In the middle of December 1517, Ariosto left for Rome to secure final approval for the transfer of the rich benefice of Santa Agata, the parish church in the diocese of Faenza, from Giovanni Fusari to himself. In 1511 Ariosto had agreed to effect the transfer so that Fusari, an old family friend, might safeguard his possession from would-be assassins who could become eligible for the benefice upon his death. In order to qualify for receiving Santa Agata, Ariosto wrote to Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici, then serving as papal legate in Bologna, and requested an exemption from sacerdotal duties and a dispensation to hold three benefices at one time; he already held benefices in Ferrara and in Milan. Giovanni granted both requests. All that remained for the poet to do was to obtain a bull to confirm his occupancy and to pay a registration tax. Giovanni, who had become Pope Leo X in 1513, granted the bull in 1514, but Ariosto delayed paying the hefty tax in hopes that it might be dismissed. In November 1517, Fusari sent an urgent request to the poet to pay the tax so that the final transfer might be completed. Ariosto agreed and made preparations to leave for Rome. This satire, written sometime before the mid-December departure, is appropriately

1. (cont.) addressed to Galasso, who actively sought advancement in the Church (see Satire 1, ll. 323-324).
2. Galasso Ariosto (1490-1546).
3. Tofte fails to recognize Ariosto's reference to the Cardinals' changing of vestments from red to violet during Advent, which in 1517 began on November 29 (Segre, p. 511).
4. The Tribunale della Rota, which opened in Rome in mid-November, adjudicated matters regarding benefices (Segre, p. 511). The Roules (or Rolles) were the offices of public records in Chancery Lane. Ixion (l. 9) is the Thessalian king whom Zeus punished for his temerity in seeking Hera's love by having him bound in Hades to a perpetually revolving wheel.
5. The Temple is St. Peter's Cathedral; Malchus (l. 17) is the servant of Caiaphas whose ear was severed by Peter in the Garden of Gethsemane (John 18:10).
6. Giovanni da Pescia was the son of Carlo da Prato, who had served Niccolò Ariosto, the poet's father. Ariosto named only two beneficiaries in his will; he left ten lire to the poor and everything else to his legitimated son Virginio (Gardner, p. 161).
7. Segre (p. 512) identifies the name "Vorano" as coming from Horace: "Voranus the thief" (Satires, I.8.39).
8. "The Lisea, or the Elisea, in the lowlands of Comacchio near the sea, was a forest where the Estensi liked to hunt" (Wiggins, p. 46).
9. For "Frier," the Italian reads "frate Ciurla" (l. 58), which Segre identifies as a general reference to the drunken priest who

9. (cont.) preaches abstinence for everyone except himself. "Ciurla" is slang for "avvinazato," i.e., tipsy (p. 513).

10. For lines 97-106, the Italian reads:

> et a messer Moschin pur dia la caccia,
> al fra Gualengo et a' compagni loro,
> che metton carestia ne la vernaccia;
> che fuor di casa, o in Gorgadello o al Moro,
> mangian grossi piccioni e capon grassi,
> come egli in cella, fuor del refettoro.
>
> (11. 64-69)

"And let him [i.e., Brother Ciurla] even upon Messer Moschino and Brother Gualengo and all their companions hurl down his curses, because they create a scarcity of vernaccia, and because, out in the open, at Gorgadello or the Moro, they eat big squabs and fat capons; just as he does in his cell, if not in the refectory" (Wiggins, p. 33). In note h, Tofte correctly identifies these as notable drunkards, but his note is otherwise fictitious. Segre (p. 514) identifies Moschino as Antonio Magnanino (d. 1497), a courtier of Ercole I, and Gualengo (d. 1496) as his companion in drunkenness. Moschino is mentioned in the same context in the verse version of Ariosto's La Cassaria (Beame and Sbrocchi, p. 261).

11. A Sardinian white wine.

12. The two taverns, "Gorgadello" and "Moro" were located in Ferrara. The first is mentioned in La Lena (Beame and Sbrocchi, p. 162) as a gathering place for well known drunkards; the other is named in the prose version of La Cassaria (Beame and Sbrocchi, p. 47). "Aethiopian" (l. 102) does not appear in the Italian.

13. i.e., the Spanish porter.

14. Evidently an abbreviation for Signior (see l. 119).

15. In the Italian, the response of the Spanish porter reads: "Agora non si puede, et es meiore/che vos torneis a la magnana" (ll. 82-83). The porter's unsuccessful attempt to speak in Italian evidently confuses Tofte, who says that the Spaniard speaks "in his own language." By changing "si" to "se," "Meiore" to "megiore," and "che" to "e," and by omitting "et," Tofte seems to be emending what he perceives as Ariosto's poor Spanish; e.g., changing "meiore" to "megiore" to signify the Spanish "mejor."

16. Lines 129-130 are not found in the Italian. "Surely" (l. 129) is a variant spelling of "surly," used here to mean "arrogant."

17. Tofte's note is a fanciful expansion of the Italian text. The Cardinal of St. George at the time of Ariosto was Raffaele Riario, who in 1517 was involved in a plot to poison Leo X. Ariosto does mention "San Georgio" in this satire (l. 207), but Tofte omits the reference in his translation.

18. The reference to Lynx eyes signifies acuteness of vision; from Horace (Satires, I.2.90). In The Blazon of Jealousie, Tofte refers to the lynx in his apology to the reader for the many printing errors in the book: "Gentle reader, Linxes sight was not so sharpe, but that now and then it oversaw" ($B4^{v}$).

19. Lines 147-150 are not found in the Italian.

20. i.e., papal bull.

21. Tofte is wrong. Ariosto did secure the rights to the benefice of Santa Agata; after the death of Fusari, he signed the rights over to his son Virginio (Wiggins, pp. 27-28; Gardner, pp. 118-19).
22. i.e., going to Rome to initiate the final action for securing the benefices of Santa Agata.
23. Tofte assumes that Fusari's motive for resigning the benefice to Ariosto was one of admiration for the poet's honesty; in fact, the priest profited from the benefices as long as he was alive, even though Ariosto was the holder of the title. Ariosto was doing a favor for his old family friend, Fusari.
24. See Explanatory Note 21 above.
25. For line 309, the Italian reads: "Non è il suo studio ne in Matteo ne in Marco" (l. 196).
26. i.e., any prelate who aspires to be pope.
27. i.e., the Turks (see l. 348).
28. The Colonna and the Orsini families were victimized by the papal nepotism of Alexander VI (1492-1503), who took the fief of Palestina (l. 353) from the Colonna, and the town of Tagliacozzo (l. 352) from the Orsini.
29. In 1499, Alexander VI entered into an alliance with Louis XII of France, who subsequently invaded Milan. In 1500, Alexander divided Naples between Spain and France; Germany (l. 360) is not named in the Italian. Cesare Borgia, Alexander's "bastard blood" (l. 363), was often the recipient of his father's spoils.

30. For lines 365-370, the Italian reads:

> L'escomuniche empir quinci le carte,
> e quindi ministrar si vederanno
> l'indulgenzie plenarie al fiero Marte.
>
> (11. 226-228)

"In one place excommunications will fill pages, while in another plenary indulgences will be administered to savage Mars himself" (Wiggins, p. 43). Ariosto here alludes to the practices of Julius II and Leo X, who were notorious for granting indulgences to friends, excommunicating enemies, and selling benefices according to their needs of the moment (Hans Kühner, Encyclopedia of the Papacy [New York: Philosophical Library, 1958], pp. 138-49). Bells, books, and candles (l. 368) are the instruments used in the Church's rite of excommunication. See Shakespeare's King John (3.3.12) for similar wording.

31. "Muff" is a depreciative term for a German or Swiss, sometimes applied to other foreigners. The reference to the "drunken Dutchman" (l. 373) is not found in the Italian.

32. i.e., mule-driver, from the Italian "mulatier" (l. 265).

33. Lines 455-456, which are not found in the Italian, seem to be added to provide a clear transition to the tale that follows, which is itself not found in the Italian. Tofte's lengthy additions to the Italian text shift the focus away from abuses in the Church to abuses in the social system. I have not found a specific source for the tale, if one does indeed exist: The story of an ungrateful master and his outspoken slave is not recorded in

33. (cont.) D. P. Rotunda's Motif-Index of the Italian Novella in Prose (Bloomington, 1942), nor is it to be found among the well known collections of Painter, Pettie, or Rastell.

Satire 3

1. On 23 April 1518 Ariosto entered the service of Duke Aphonso I of Ferrara. Shortly thereafter, the poet's cousin Annibale Malaguzzi inquired about two matters: whether Ariosto was better off in the service of the Duke than he had been in that of Ippolito; and why Ariosto did not go to Rome now that his old friend Giovanni de' Medici was pope. Ariosto replied with the present satire, written sometime in May 1518.

2. Annibale Malaguzzi (b. 1482), the son of Valerio Malaguzzi who was the youngest brother of Daria Ariosto, the poet's mother.

3. For ll. 21-24 the Italian reads:

> Che s'al mio genitor, tosto che a Reggio
> Daria mi partorì, facevo il guioco
> che fe' Saturno al suo ne l' alto seggio.
>
> (ll. 13-15)

"If, as soon as Daria gave birth to me in Reggio, I had played the same trick on my father that Saturn played on his in the lofty throne" (Wiggins, p. 59). Saturn, the ancient god of Italy, was identified with the Greek god Cronus, who castrated his father (Uranus) and who was himself deposed by his own son Zeus (Jupiter to the Romans). Tofte's translation refers to Jupiter's deposition of Saturn, whereas Ariosto clearly refers to Saturn's act of violence against Uranus.

4. Reggio, where Ariosto's father Niccolò served as the Captain of the Citadel from 1472 to 1481, and wehre the poet was born in 1474, was founded by Marcus Aemilius Lepidus at the time of the construction of the Via Emilia in 187 b.c. Tofte mistakes this Lepidus for his more famous descendent, who joined with Antony and Octavian to form the Triumvirate. Lepidus the Triumvir died in 13 a.d.
5. "Stork" (l. 30) is presumably an error for "snake," since the allusion is clearly to Aesop's Fable of the frogs who asked Zeus for a king. When they protested that the log he sent them as a ruler was unacceptable, Zeus sent the frogs a water snake, by which they were caught and eaten.
6. Tofte emphasizes the astrological influences of the planet Mercury, whereas Ariosto emphasizes the mythological associations of the Greek god (wealth, luck, commerce, travel).
7. To incorporate his nickname into the translation, Tofte substitutes "Robin red-breast" (l. 61) for Ariosto's "la rondine" (l. 41), swallow.
8. For ll. 87-88 the Italian reads: "vegga Inghelterra, Ongheria, Francia, e Spagna" (l. 56); "Let him see England, Hungary, France, and Spain" (Wiggins, p. 61). Contrary to Tofte's statement in the note to line 87, Ariosto gives no "Epithetons."
9. i.e., Claudius Ptolemaeus, the celebrated Alexandrian mathematician, geographer, and astronomer of the second century.

10. In 1513 Ariosto declared his love for Alessandra Benucci, then the wife of Tito Strozzi. They were not married until sometime between 1526 and 1528, Strozzi having died in 1515. His affection for her and the effect of their relationship on his life and his art are prominent topics throughout the Satires, the Canzoni, and the Orlando Furioso (I.2; XXX.3; XXXV.1).

11. Leo X, formerly Giovanni de' Medici (1476-1521), succeeded Julius II in March 1513. Ariosto had expected to capitalize on his long friendship with Leo when the latter became pope (Orlando Furioso, XVII.79), but his expectations never materialized.

12. Tofte fails to capture Ariosto's ironic comment on Leo's relationship with the Florentines. In September 1512 Giovanni de' Medici returned to Florence for the first time since the exile of the Medici in 1494. His return brought the re-establishment of tyrannical rule by the Medici over the Florentines, who can hardly be said to have "opened the gates" for him.

13. One of Tofte's more accurate notes. Guiliano de' Medici (1479-1516), Giovanni's younger brother, spent part of his exile at the court of Guidobaldo da Montefeltro, the Duke of Urbino. Francesco Maria della Rovere, who succeeded Montefeltro in 1508, continued the kindnesses offered to Giuliano by the court of Urbino. His reward for those kindnesses was Leo's sending a papal army against him in 1516 so that Urbino could be procured for Lorenzo, Leo's nephew. Giuliano married Filiberta of Savoy, the aunt of Francis I of France, and became the Duke of Nemours in 1515, only one year

13. (cont.) before his death. Unlike his elder brother, Giuliano earned Ariosto's respect as a patron of the arts and a lover of learning. (Wiggins, pp. 78-79; Kühner, pp. 143-49; Gardner, pp. 297-98). Francesco Maria della Rovere, a prominent figure in Castiglione's Il Cortegiano, was a captain in the forces of his uncle, Pope Julius II. In 1523 Pope Adrian VI returned the dukedome of Urbino, which had been taken by Leo, to della Rovere and his family. Tofte's estimation of della Rovere's reputation is consonant with modern opinion (Enciclopedia Italiana, XV, 865).
14. Piero Soderini, the Gonfaloniere or Standard-bearer, headed the government of Florence between the death of Savonarola (1498) and the return of the Medici (1512). Tofte's word for "Gonfalonier" is not recorded in the OED as a variant spelling and, presuming it is not a compositor's error, is his unusual coinage for the well known Italian term.
15. Giovanni de' Medici served as papal legate from 1511 to 1512.
16. An allusion to the myth of Phaeton (Ovid, Metamorphoses, II.1-404).
17. The Italian reads "gazza" (l. 142), magpie.
18. Segre (p. 530) does not identify these as particular Florentine families but as typical Florentine names. Ariosto alludes, therefore, to the great numbers of Florentines who descended on Rome after the election of Leo X to make their fortunes.
19. See Explanatory Note 14 above.
20. Piero II de' Medici (1471-1503), the older brother of Giuliano and Giovanni, used the region of Casentino as a stronghold during his

20. (cont.) attempts to re-enter Florence after the exile in 1494. Caieta is the ancient name of Gaeta. "Guychardine" is the Florentine historian Francesco Guicciardini (1483-1540) whose Storia d' Italia served as a primary source for Tofte's notes.

21. Segre (p. 530) identifies Brandino as a Venetian tailor who lent money to Giovanni de' Medici during the exile. When he became pope, Giovanni rewarded Brandino by accepting him as one of a large number of parasites.

22. Lines 265-268 probably refer to Francesco Maria della Rovere (Segre, p. 530).

23. Tofte fails to identify "Bibiena" (l. 290) as Bernardo Dovizi da Bibbiena (1470-1520), secretary to Giovanni de' Medici, who helped Ariosto to secure the benefice of Santa Agata (Satire 2). Ariosto was disappointed that Bibbiena did not expend more energy on his behalf to dismiss the registration tax that the poet had to pay to secure the papal bull finally granting the benefice to him (Wiggins, p. 80). Bibbiena, one of the interlocutors in Il Cortegiano, is the author of La Calandria (1513).

24. The Italian reads "Montone" (l. 186), an inn of Rome called The Ram.

25. Pasquils or pasquinades were lampoons posted in public places for the purposes of satirizing or even libelling political, ecclesiastical, or historical personages. Tofte's note may refer to Guicciardini's statement that the King of Aragon provided troops to

25. (cont.) assist the Medici in their re-entry into Florence and in their acquisition of additional lands and power (Alexander, pp. 256-61).

26. The tale of the ascent of Mount Fortune in quest of the moon is similar to Astolpho's journey to the terrestrial paradise (Orlando Furioso, XXXIV.48).

27. For ll. 435-438 the Italian reads:

> Ecco che diede presa
> per danari a' Francesi Porta Giove
> che il suo signor gli avea data in difesa.
>
> (ll. 267-269)

"There is the man who for money surrendered Porta Giove to the French after his Lord had given it to him to defend" (Wiggins, p. 73). Tofte's note to line 436 incorrectly interprets these lines as referring to an incident in 1527 when Charles, Duke of Bourbon, marched against the papal forces of Clement VII. Segre (p. 534), on the basis of the Porta Giove reference omitted by Tofte, identifies the lines as alluding to the action of Bernadino da Corte, who deserted Milan after being entrusted with its defense by his Lord, Ludovico Sforza. Bernadino's name became synonymous with treachery.

28. Neither Segre nor Wiggins has identified Bomba.

29. The story of Ippolito's crime is told in detail by Prescott, pp. 225-26; Guicciardini mentions the episode in one of his few references to the Estensi (Alexander, p. 188). Neither Segre nor Wiggins identifies Ariosto's reference to Borno (l. 487) as an allusion to Ippolito.

30. For ll. 499-502 the Italian reads:

> Quello altro va se stesso a porre in gogna
> facendosi veder con quella aguzza
> mitra acquistata con tanta vergogna.
>
> (ll. 307-309)

"That other fellow there is going to put himself in the pillory, letting himself be seen in publich with that pointed mitre he acquired with so much shame" (Wiggins, p. 75).

31. Lines 507-510 do not appear in the Italian. Line 507 echoes Cicero's "O tempora! O mores!" (In Catilinam, no. i, ch. 1, sce. 2).

32. Neither the tale (ll. 511-548) nor the lines that follow it (ll. 549-564) are found in the Italian. The confrontation between William Rufus and the un-named humble monk, which took place in 1089, is told in Higden's Polychronicon (VII, xi) and in Holinshed's Chronicles (William Rufus, An. Reg. 2). Tofte's narration of the story has certain affinities with the tale of Rufus and Anselm (Holinshed, William Rufus, An. Reg. 6). When the king asked the famous monk to become Archbishop of Canterbury in 1093, Anselm, already sixty years old, initially expressed reluctancy to take on the burdens of such a great office, although he eventually agreed to accept the position.

Satire 4

1. The present satire was occasioned by the marriage of Ariosto's cousin Annibale Malaguzzi to Lucrezia Pio. Since the exact date

1. (cont.) of the marriage is not known, the date of composition of Satire 4 cannot be fixed with certainty. Catalano believes that the poem was written in July or August of 1521 and that the wedding took place at the end of that year. Debenedetti gives the date of the poem as December 1519 and of the marriage as January 1520. Segre offers early summer 1519 as the date of composition, citing the reference to Rinaldo Ariosto, who died in July (11. 136-138). In any event, this satire certainly precedes Satire 5, which is dated 20 February 1523 (1. 1).
2. See Satire 3, Explanatory Note 2.
3. "It is better to Marry than to burn" is a familiar proverb (Morris Tilley, A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries [Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950], M692).
4. "I see, approving,/Things that are good, and yet I follow worse ones" (Metamorphoses, tr. Rolfe Humphries [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1955], VII.20-1).
5. Lines 39-46 are not found in the Italian. Tofte dwells on the anti-clerical sentiment mentioned only briefly by Ariosto (11. 23-24).
6. In La Lena (4.7) Ariosto refers to the Modenese reputation for obstinancy (Beame and Sbrocchi, p. 185). Modena (in 1510) and Reggio (in 1512) were taken by the forces of Pope Julius II. Jacopo Sadoleto (1477-1547), a Modenese humanist, is famous for his contribution to scholarship on Cicero, for popularizing Ciceronian prose style, and for his dedicated service to four popes (Leo,

6. (cont.) Adrian, Clement, Paul). Francesco Maria Molza (1489-1544), another Modenese humanist, is famous for his profligacy; he abandoned his wife and his children but later wrote poems praising the comforts of family life.

7. Scipione Bonlei (or Bonlie) was a physician in the service of Cardinal Ippolito (Segre, p. 549).

8. Lines 67-68 are not found in the Italian.

9. For lines 69-74, the Italian reads:

> Quella età più al servizio di Lieo
> che di Vener conviensi: si dipinge
> giovane fresco, e non vecchio, Imeneo.
>
> (11. 34-36)

"[That] age is more suitable to the service of Lyaeus than of Venus. Hymen is pictured as a fresh youth, not as an old man" (Wiggins, p. 125). "Lieo" or "Lyaeus" is another name for Bacchus; Tofte's reading "Hermon" (l. 69) is inexplicable.

10. Line 78 is not found in the Italian. Aeson, the father of Jason, was made young by Medea (Ovid, Metamorphoses, VII.163-295).

11. Lines 85-86 are not found in the Italian. "To mix Water with fire" is proverbial (Tilley, W110).

12. Lines 87-92 are not found in the Italian. Saint Luke's badge (l. 91) refers to the horns of a cuckold.

13. Tofte's note fails to capture Ariosto's irony. The poet was himself the father of at least two illegitimate sons: Giambattista (b. 1503) by a maid named Maria; and Virginio (b. 1509) by Orsolina Sassomarino, a nail-maker's daughter.

14. Ariosto and Alessandra Bennuci were married secretly so that he might maintain the small ecclesiastical revenues he was receiving and so that she might continue to receive financial support from the estate of her first husband, Tito Strozzi. Strozzi's will stipulated that the large legacy he bequeathed to her was to be forfeited upon her re-marrying.

15. For lines 169-172 the Italian reads:

> Ogni virtude è in lei, s'ella ti piace:
> so ben che né orator latin, né greco,
> saria a dissuadertilo efficace.
>
> (11. 91-93)

"She has every virtue if she gives you pleasure. I am well aware that in this case neither a Latin orator nor a Greek could say aught to discourage you" (Wiggins, p. 129).

16. Segre (p. 552) notes that the attitude towards women expressed in 11. 179-194 is also found in Plato's Republic, Castiglione's Il Cortegiano, and Alberti's Della Famiglia. Ariosto may also have had Juvenal's famous sixth satire in mind: "Do you really believe/ Any mother will pass on a loftier set of morals/Than she learnt herself?" (Juvenal, The Sixteen Satires, tr. Peter Green [Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1967], VI.238-40).

17. Lines 194-198, which are not found in the Italian, resemble a proverb from Francis Meres's Palladis Tamia: "There is not almost any tree, but it waxeth wild and crooked, if it want culture: so there is not wit so happie, but it degenerateth without orderly education" (1598; rpt. New York: Garland Publishing, 1973, p. 59).

18. For lines 249-250 the Italian reads:

> se le compiaci, più che 'l conte
> Rinaldo mio la te aviluppa e ficca;
>
> (11. 137-138)

"And if you humor her, she will share you and impale you more cleverly than the wife of my Count Rinaldo" (Wiggins, p. 131). Rinaldo Ariosto, the poet's cousin, was married three times. His third wife, Contarina Farnese, was famous for spending money and for her extravagent tastes (Gardner, p. 144; Segre, p. 553). In the Orlando Furioso Rinaldo, the cousin of Orlando, renounces his quest for Angelica after drinking at the spring of forgetfulness (XLII). Tofte may have substituted the name of Orlando (l. 250) for that of Rinaldo out of ignorance of the poet's cousin and his spendthrift wife or because he could not understand how the Rinaldo of the Furioso might figure in the context of the satire.

19. In The Odyssey (XII.158-200) Odysseus causes himself to be bound to the mast of the ship and the ears of his men stopped so that he alone might hear the music of the Sirens.

20. Lines 257-260 are not found in the Italian.

21. "He that has a white Horse and a fair wife never wants trouble" is a common English and Italian proverb (Tilley, H657); c.f., John Florio, Giardino di Recreatione (1591): "Cavallo bianco, e donna bella, non è mai senza martoro" (p. 33).

22. I have not been able to trace this proverb, which may be Tofte's expansion of two lines of the Italian: "Non la tòr brutta; che torresti insieme/perpetua noia" (11. 169-170); "Do not choose an

22. (cont.) ugly wife, either, for with her you would take on perpetual annoyance" (Wiggins, p. 133).

23. The content of Tofte's note resembles Iago's epigrams on foolish women (Othello, 2.1.136-159).

24. Lines 331-334 are not found in the Italian.

25. For lines 345-366 the Italian reads:

> Tema Dio, ma che udir più d'un messa
> voglia il dì non mi piace; e vuo' che basti
> s'una o due volte l'anno si confessa.
>
> (11. 196-198)

"Let her fear God, but if she wishes to attend more than one mass a day, I shall be displeased. Let it suffice if she confesses herself once or twice a year" (Wiggins, p. 135). Tofte's expansion allows him to join in the denunciation of the English Puritans, which were commonplace during the first decade of the seventeenth century. Greene, Nashe, Marston, and Dekker were the primary spokesmen against the Dissenters, whose hypocrisy, immorality, and zeal they often attacked. (William Holden, Anti-Puritan Satire 1572-1642 [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954], pp. 44-93). Tribulation Wholesome, Ben Jonson's Puritan pastor in The Alchemist (1610), is a famous example of the way in which Puritans were often caricatured.

26. For lines 367-374 the Italian reads:

> Non voglio che con gli asini che basti
> non portano abbia pratica, né faccia
> ogni dì tórte al confessore e pasti.
>
> (11. 199-201)

26. (cont.) "I should not wish her to have business with those asses who bear no burdens, or to be making tarts and repasts every day for her confessor" (Wiggins, p. 135).

27. For lines 375-390, the Italian reads: "liscio non vuo', né tu credo il vogli anco" (l. 208); "I dislike cosmetics and I am sure that you agree" (Wiggins, p. 135). In the verse version of La Cassaria Ariosto vigorously attacks the use of cosmetics by women and men (Beame and Sbrocchi, pp. 203-4, 212).

28. The Latin saying is probably an incorrect citation from Horace: "audivere, Lyce: fis anus, et tamen/vis formosa videri/ludisque et bibis impudens" (Odes, IV.13.2-4); "They have heard, Lyce, heard: you are becoming old,/Yet you wish to seem fair still,/And you sport without shame, and drink" (The Odes of Horace, tr. Helen Rowe Henze [Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961], p. 204).

29. For lines 319-394 the Italian reads:

> Se sapese Erculan dove la labbia
> pon quando bacia Lidia, avria più a schivo
> che se baciasse un cul marzo di scabbia.
>
> (ll. 208-210)

"If Erculano knew where he sets his lips when he kisses Lidia, he would be more disgusted than if he kissed an ares-hole rotten with scabs" (Wiggins, p. 135). Erculano and Lidia have not been identified.

30. Cyprus was one of the main sources for dyes, drugs, and spices used in cosmetics. The main ingredient in facial powders and rouges during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was ceruse, a white

30. (cont.) lead product. This basic white compound ("Bianca") was colored red ("Rosa") with various kinds of dyes (Richard Corson, Fashions in Makeup From Ancient to Modern Times [London: Peter Owen, 1972], pp. 93-120).

31. For lines 415-418 the Italian reads:

> Sì che quei che le baciano, ben ponno
> con men schivezza e stomachi più saldi
> baciar lor anco a nuova luna il conno.
>
> (11. 220-222)

"Those who kiss them could indeed with less revulsion and calmer stomachs kiss their privates under the new moon" (Wiggins, p. 137).

32. For lines 437-438 the Italian reads: "Segua le poche, e non la volgar frotta" (1. 229); "May she imitate the few, and not the vulgar herd" (Wiggins, p. 137). "Stragnized" (1. 438) is evidently a coinage meaning "foreignized."

33. Lines 451-452 are not found in the Italian. The quotation from the Orlando Furioso in note x is taken from Harington's translation (VII.63.5-8, McNulty, p. 87).

34. Lines 485-486 are not found in the Italian.

35. The Latin quotation is from Ovid (The Art of Love, I, 585-86): "The surest and most common means to success is to deceive him under the cloak of friendship. But though 'tis sure and common, 'tis non the less a crime" (The Love Books of Ovid, tr. J. Lewis May, [New York, 1930], p. 115). I have not found a source for the tale of the Malt-man and the students.

36. "Cuckolds come by destiny" is proverbial (Tilley, C889). See also the Landlord's tale of faithless women (Orlando Furioso, XXVII.1-74) for a typical Ariostoan treatment of the subject of cuckoldry.

37. Ariosto's source for the salacious story of the painter was Poggio Bracciolini's Facetiae (no. 132); in Poggio, the protagonist is identified as Francesco Filelfo, the Milanese humanist (Segre, p. 559). In Ariosto's text the protagonist is identified as "Galasso" (l. 298), probably the Ferrarese painter Galasso Galassi (Segre, p. 559). Tofte does not identify the protagonist (l. 577). Although Tofte's translation of the tale shifts to six-line stanzas, the Italian does not deviate from the terza rima.

38. Lines 613-618 are not found in the Italian. "Chaucer's jest" (l. 614) may be an allusion to "The Merchant's Tale" or possibly "The Miller's Tale." "Acteons badge" (l. 618) is a set of horns, here indicating cuckoldry. The phrase also appears in The Batchelars Banquet (p. 51), attributed to Tofte by F. P. Wilson. Harington refers to Acteon as "a notable hunter and cuckold" in his "Table" appended to his translation of the Orlando Furioso (McNulty, p. 589).

39. I have not found a source for the tale of the "slie Venetian." Tofte again refers to it in his Three Elegies, which are appended to the 1611 edition of Ariosto's Satyres (p. 2).

40. Lines 619-634 do not appear in the Italian.

41. "Gioco di mano, gioco di villano" is a well-known Tuscan proverb meaning "Those who play with their hands are not very smart." A "gioco di mano" is a sleight of hand or a gross jest; it can also refer to the game of the hands (mora). "Pigliara nell gran scorno/ Il joco dello corno" (to be caught in a great disgrace--the jest of the horn) is not a recognizable Italian proverb and may be Tofte's expansion in Italian of "Gioco di mano, gioco di villano." Tofte's note bears some resemblance to Jacques' song, "What shall he have that killed the deer?" (As You Like It, 4.2.10-18).

Satire 5

1. On 7 February 1522, Duke Alfonso appointed Ariosto commissioner of the remote provice of Garfagnana, a sparsely populated region in the Apennine mountains north of Ferrara. The poet accepted the position for financial reasons. On 20 February he arrived in the province and settled in the fortress of Castelnuovo to begin a three year and four month stay. Throughout his commissariat Ariosto worked conscientiously to subdue brigands who terrorized the inhabitants, to combat famine and plague, to adjudicate civil and domestic disputes, and to fortify the defenses of the previously vulnerable province. Duke Alfonso gave Ariosto little support in his endeavors; in fact, the poet complains in his correspondence to the Duke that Alfonso's lack of support troubled him as much as brigands, faminine, plague, and poverty in Garfagnana (Wiggins, pp. 85-95). The present satire was written on 20 February 1523, the first anniversary of his arrival at Castelnuovo.

2. The poet's cousin; brother of Annibale (to whom Satires 3 and 4 are addressed).
3. The waters of the Turrita and the Serchio meet at Castelnuovo, which is situated at the foot of the Apennines. The two bridges (l. 6) are the Ponte di S. Lucia, which crosses the Serchio, and the Ponte della Madonna, which crosses the Turrita (Wiggins, p. 112).
4. Garfagnana was not a town but a province that contained eighty-three small towns. Tofte's spelling "Graffanine" (l. 10) is evidently derived from Ariosto's word "Grafagnin" (l. 8, 187), which denotes the people of Garfagnana. In note c below, Tofte uses "Graffagnana" to signify the province; Harington uses "Graffignana" (McNulty, p. 574).
5. Duke Alfonso was a formidable opponent of three popes, none of whom succeeded in disenfranchising him. Julius II and Leo X excommunicated him to no avail; Clement VII threatened to take away all lands under Este control but never succeeded in doing so (Prescott, pp. 221-43). Tofte's note is based on Guicciardini's narration of the events that followed the death of Leo X (Alexander, pp. 332-36).
6. Alessandra Benucci.
7. For line 51 the Italian reads: "E direbbe il Vangel di san Giovanni" (l. 34); "And he would quote the Gospel of Saint John" (Wiggins, p. 99). The Evangelists are those who record sacred truths; cf. La Cassaria (4.7), p. 35, and La Lena (3.6), p. 180. Line 52 is not found in the Italian.

8. Lines 79-86 are not found in the Italian. In lines 85-86 Tofte alludes to Aesop's Fable of the two sacks. Prometheus, after he had fashioned men, hung two sacks from their necks, the one filled with men's faults in front, the other filled with their own faults behind. Consequently, men have been able to discern the faults of others but not their own.

9. For "water" the Italian reads "ranno" (lye).

10. For lines 101-104 the Italian reads:

> Ermilian sì del dannaio ardente
> come d'Alessio il Gianfa, e che lo brama
> ogni ora, in ogni loco, da ogni gente,
>
> (11. 58-60)

"Ermilian, who is as hot for money as Gianfa for Alexis, and who lusts after it all the time, everywhere, and from everybody" (Wiggins, p. 101). Ermilian is Cardinal Francesco Armellini, the unpopular tax collector who served Leo X (Segre, p. 539). Tofte omits Ariosto's reference to Gianfa, whom Segre (p. 539) identifies as the humanist Gianfresco Fortunio, and to Alessio, Gianfa's homosexual lover.

11. For "Rainard" the Italian reads "Rinieri," (l. 109); i.e., Niccolo Ridolfi, a prodigal nephew of Leo X who was undeservedly made a cardinal (Segre, p. 540).

12. For "Hydra multitude" the Italian reads "volgar guidici" (l. 75), "vulgar judges."

13. Cardinal Lorenzo Pucci, Bursar of the Vatican under Leo X (Segre, p. 540).

14. Pope Clement VIII (1592-1605) elevated his nephew, Pietro Aldobrandini, to Secretary of State in 1592. I have found no record of Clement's having "bestowed" the Castel San Angelo on his favored nephew; Tofte's unpublished Discourse of the five laste Popes (1598) contains a biography of Clement VIII, from which the information for this note may have been taken.
15. Probably Lorenzo II de' Medici (1492-1519), nephew of Leo X (Segre, p. 541).
16. Wiggins (p. 112) identifies the fox and lion metaphor as an allusion to one or more authors: Machiavelli's description of Lorenzo in Il Principe; Dante's description of Guido da Montefeltro (Inferno, XXVII, 73-75); and/or Cicero's analysis of the sources of injury and injustices (De Officiis, I, 13).
17. For lines 175-176 the Italian reads: "faria un viso/come mordesse allora allora un sorbo" (ll. 107-108); "They would make a face as if they had just bitten into a sorb-apple" (Wiggins, p. 103).
18. For "Pernassus" (l. 185) the Italian reads "Permesso" (l. 114), the rivulet which flowed at the foot of Mt. Helicon.
19. For "Mauritanian lodge" (l. 193) the Italian reads "Mauriziano" (l. 118); this was a villa belonging to the Malaguzzi. Ariosto lived there in 1496-1497 and 1502-1503 (Segre, p. 542). Gardner (pp. 45-46) mentions the valuable art that was collected by the Malaguzzi and kept at Mauriziano, but he does not identify the villa as a "banqueting house." "Rodanus" (l. 195), for the Italian "Rodano" (l. 119), is the name of the stream which flows past Mauriziano.

20. The Malaguzzi owned another villa, called the Albinea, near the Mauriziano on Mt. Iaco (Segre, p. 542).

21. For lines 209-210 the Italian reads:

> quivi in più d'una lingua e in più d'un stile
> rivi traea sin dal gorgoneo laco.
>
> (11. 128-129)

"There in more than one language and style, I called forth rivulets all the way from the Gorgonian lake" (Wiggins, p. 105). In his youth, Ariosto wrote original Latin lyrics and did imitations of Latin authors. Tofte omits Ariosto's allusion to the Gorgonian lake, i.e., the fountain Hippocrene, whose waters stimulated poetic creation.

22. For lines 212-214 the Italian reads:

> Erano allora gli anni miei fra aprile
> e maggio belli, ch'or l'ottobre dietro
> si lasciano, e non pur luglio e sestile.
>
> (11. 130-132)

"My years were beautiful then, between April and May, and now, not to mention July and August, they fly beyond October" (Wiggins, p. 105).

23. The fountain in the mountains of Macedonia dedicated to the Muses.

24. Ascra, a city in Boetia near Mt. Helicon, was the homeland of Hesiod (Segre, p. 543).

25. For "River Appenine," the Italian reads "silvoso Apennin" (1. 124), "sylvan Apenines."

26. Garfagnana, which was once under the rule of the Republic of Lucca (which had a Panther as its emblem), was taken by the Estensi in

26. (cont.) 1426. After the death of Cardinal Ippolito in 1520, it was occupied by the Florentines, only to be re-taken by the Estensi at the death of Leo X in 1521. The heraldric emblem of the city of Florence was the Marzocco, a sitting lion (Segre, p. 543-44).

27. Duke Alfonso.

28. In 1512, a Venetian army of occupation under Francesco Maria della Rovere marched on Ferrara; but with Pope Julius' death in 1513, the seige was aborted and Alfonso's confrontation with the pope diffused. In 1521, Pope Leo, in alliance with Emperor Charles V, was at war with France. Alfonso, who remained loyal to France, did nothing to assist Leo and was excommunicated. Leo's death later in that same year saved Alfonso from further confrontations with the powerful Medici pope.

29. "Aliud ex alio malum" means "one misfortune after another."

30. Lines 295-296 are not found in the Italian. "While the Grass grows the horse starves" is proverbial (Tilley, G423).

31. Tofte is wrong. For Marzocco see Note 25 above. See also Harington's comment on Ariosto's effectiveness in Garfagnana: "employed by the Duke as a Lieutenant or high shreeve in the countrie called Graffignana, being then full of factions and divisions which he so orderly governed and so well quieted that he left them all in good peace and concord, leaving among them a verie good report of his wisedome and equitie" (McNulty, p. 574).

32. Aesop's Fable of the Cock and the Precious Stone is the first entry in Book I of Caxton's edition. The fable is also told in Phaedrus,

32. (cont.) Pullus ad margaritam (Segre, p. 546). The foolish cock did not understand that the precious stone he found in the dunghill was valuable, regardless of where he found it.

33. Venetians were esteemed to be poor horsemen in Ariosto's time, and their lack of ability was often the subject of jests (Segre, p. 546).

34. The names "Pantalon" (l. 364) and "Magnifico" (l. 365) are not found in the Italian.

35. Lines 379-380 are not found in the Italian.

Satire 6

1. This satire was written during the final months of Ariosto's term as Commissioner of Garfagnana. Before he returned to Ferrara in June of 1525, he wrote to his friend Pietro Bembo, whom he had known for more than twenty-five years, requesting Bembo to recommend a suitable Greek tutor for his fifteen year old son, Virginio. Ariosto and Bembo maintained a close personal and professional relationship throughout their adult lives. In his Latina Lirica VII (1498), Ariosto pays tribute to Bembo's friendship, and in the famous letter of 1531, he asks Bembo to exercise parental authority over Virginio, who was then beginning the study of law at the University of Padua: "I pray your Lordship to be content to lend him, when necessary, your favor, and to admonish him whenever you see him, and to urge him not to waste his time." Ariosto looked to Bembo for advice on composing in the vernacular, and from the beginning of his literary career, he consulted often with Bembo on matters of

1. (cont.) language and style. Bembo's Prose della volgar lingua (1525), an influential document expressing theories about composition in the vernacular, functioned as Ariosto's guide for revisions in the third edition of the Orlando Furioso (1532).
2. Pietro Bembo (1470-1547) was regarded by his contemporaries as the foremost literary arbiter of Italy. His two major works, Asolani (1505) and Prose della volgar lingua (1525), helped to establish Tuscan as the standard literary language of Renaissance Italy. He served Leo X as papal secretary from 1513 to 1521; from 1530 to 1539 he was official historian of the Venetial Republic. He was made Cardinal by Pope Paul III in 1539, eighteen years after the death of Leo (Ernest H. Wilkins, A History of Italian Literature [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974], pp. 177-84). Bembo is one of the interlocutors in Castiglione's Il Cortegiano.
3. Ariosto's sons, Giambattista and Virginio, were not born to Alessandra, but to two other women (see Satire 4, Explanatory Note 13). In Sonnet VII, an imitation of Petrarch, Ariosto names "un generbo" (l. 14) as his beloved. The identification of the lady is not certain, but Segre suggests Ginevra Malatesta or Ginevra da Corregio (p. 132). In the Orlando Furioso, Ariosto identifies three ladies named Ginevra among the crowd gathered on the shore to welcome the poet home (XLVI, 3-5); only Ginevra d' Este (1490-1540) is clearly identified in the text (Baker and Giamatti, p. 495; Caretti, pp. 1137-38). Tofte's erroneous information on the parentage of Ariosto's sons, and his fatuous comment on

3. (cont.) "Genevra," may have been gleaned from Harington's "Life." Harington implies that Alessandra was the mother of both sons, and he speculates on the poet's relationship to a Ginevra: "Also there was a Ladie called Genewra, a faire and modest Ladie, whom he made great profession of love unto, but whether he enjoyed her or no it is not knowne, and therefore we may imagine the best" (McNulty, p. 573).

4. For "Philosophie", the Italian reads "l'arti . . . tutti" (all the arts).

5. "Caldean tongue" (i.e., Chaldean, Aramaic) is not found in the Italian.

6. "Reading makes him a knave" is Tofte's reduction of nine lines of the Italian in which Ariosto attacks the sexual immorality of the humanists:

> Senza quel vizio son pochi umanisti
> che fe' a Dio forza, non che persüase,
> di far Gomorra e i suoi vicini tristi:
> mandò fuoco da ciel, ch'uomini e case
> tutto consumpse; et ebbe tempo a pena
> Lot a fugir, ma la moglier rimase.
> Ride il volgo, se sente un ch'abbia vena
> di poesia, e poi dice: -- È gran periglio
> a dormir seco e volgierli la schiena. --
>
> (11. 25-34)

"Few humanists are without that vice which did not so much persuade, as forced God to render Gomorrah and her neighbor wretched. He sent down fire from heaven that consumed men and houses all, and Lot had scarcely time to flee, while his wife remained behind. The vulgar laugh when they hear of someone who possesse a vein of poetry,

6. (cont.) and then they say, "It is a great peril to turn your back if you sleep next to him" (Wiggins, p. 153).

7. Tofte's version of the anecdote of the unbelieving Spaniard may be the most complete treatment in English of that popular story. The OED records only one entry that connects "peccadillo" and Spain. Matthew Sutcliffe, in A Briefe Replie to a certain odious and slanderous libel, lately published by a Jesuite (London, 1600), apparently alludes to this anecdote in Chapter 8 when he attempts to prove that "the Spaniards are neither to be trusted, nor loved, nor feared":

> the Spaniard is saide to account it but a Peccadillo or little fault, not to beleeve in Christ, and every man may see, they have no right faith, that receive all the popes decretalles for true religion.
>
> (p. 200)

Segre (p. 562) suggests that the "peccadillos di Spagna" also refers to the forced conversion of Spanish Moors and Jews. Sutcliffe also denounces the actions of the Spaniards who "have baptized many against their wils" (p. 201). The anecdote is given its fullest expression in Italian by Annibal Caro (Segre, p. 562).

8. Nicoletto (l. 55) is probably Nicoletto Vernia da Chieti, an Averroist from Padua (Segre, p. 563); Martin (l. 56) is Martin Luther. Ariosto's reference to Luther is perhaps the first in a literary work in Italian (Wiggins, p. 166). Tofte may have learned of the three contemporary Italians during his travels in Italy. Only one of the three is identified as a preacher. Lupo is

8. (cont.) probably Giambattista Lupo, a scholastic theologian and economist of the late sixteenth century, about whom very little is known. Francesco Panigarola (1548-1594), a Franciscan, was recognized as the most persuasive preacher of his time. He authored theological treatises, biblical commentaries, and lessons on writing sermons. Girolamo Aquapendente (1533-1619), a Professor of Surgery, published in the fields of anatomy, biology, and physiology. The Latin saying that concludes the note means: "Lupus advises, Panigarola persuades, Aquapendente teaches."
9. Tofte fails to note Ariosto's criticism of the habit of humanists who changed their names to Latin or Greek proper nouns or adjectives.
10. i.e., Nicolo di Lello (1420?-1500) of Padua, a humanist poet eulogized by Ariosto in his Lirica Latina XVI (Segre, p. 563).
11. i.e., Giulio Leto (1428-1498), the founder of the Accademia Pomponiana (Segre, p. 563).
12. i.e., Giampiero Valeriano (1477-1588), a teacher employed by the Medici; he is also mentioned in the Orlando Furioso, XLVI.13 (Segre, p. 563).
13. i.e., Giampaolo Parisio (1470-1534), who took the name Aulus Janus Parrasius, a poet in Latin and a Professor of Eloquence (Segre, p. 563).
14. For "Jovinian," the Italian reads "Jovian" (l. 63); i.e., Giovanni Pontano (Jovianus Pontanus, 1426-1503), recognized as a great Latin lyricist during his lifetime (Segre, p. 563).
15. "To turn the Cat in the pan" is a proverb denoting something turned the other way round (Tilley, C172).

16. Lines 95-120 (11. 70-87 in the Italian) paraphrase Horace's Ars Poetica, 11. 391-401 (Segre, p. 564). Ariosto also refers to the stories of Phoebus, Amphion, and Orpheus (11. 115-120) in the Prologue of Il Negromante (Beame and Sbrocchi, p. 101).

17. Segre suggests that Ariosto's reference to Quintilian is an antonomasia for a teacher of rhetoric (p. 565).

18. Antonio Cammelli (1436-1502), called Il Pistoia, wrote humorous and satirical sonnets, some of which have been identified as among those posted in public places of Ferrara to discredit Ariosto's father Niccolò in 1486 (Wiggins, p. 77).

19. Pietro Aretino (1492-1556) was recognized as one of the leading man of letters of his time. His Giudizi, annually issued prognostications of the futures of famous people for the coming year, were widely circulated and very popular. The "villanous bookes" Tofte names are contained in Aretino's Ragionamenti, a collection of obscene prose dialogues. Aretino's two nicknames, "the scourge of princes" and "the divine" were both given to him by Ariosto: "ecco il flagello/de' principi, il divin Pietro Aretino" (Orlando Furioso, XLVI.14.2-3). Two epitaphs on Aretino circulated immediately after his death; one scurrilous and one complimentary. Tofte gives a variant of the more popular scurrilous version:

> Qui giace l'Aretino, poeta tosco,
> Chi disse mal d'ognan fuorche Dio,
> Scusandosi col dir, Non lo conosco

(Thomas C. Chubb, Aretino, Scourge of Princes [New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1940], p. 450).

19. (cont.) "Here lies the Tuscan poet Aretino. He slandered all but God, whom he left out because, he pleaded, Well, I never knew him" (James Cleugh, The Divine Aretino [New York: Stein and Day, 1966], p. 240). The other version, first carved on a wall of the church of San Luca where Aretino was buried (not San Sebastian as Tofte reports), though less popular is probably more appropriate:

> Da infime stirpe a tanto altezze vanne,
> Pietro Aretino, biasmando il vitio immonde,
> Che de color che tributava il mondo,
> Per temenza di lui tributo otteno.
>
> (Chubb, p. 450)

"Base-born Pietro Aretino rose to such heights in the scourging of foul vice that those who held the world in fee paid price to him in fear of even fiercer blows" (Cleugh, p. 241).

20. "Aonio," (l. 138) which means "Boeotian," signifies "poet," since Helicon was thought to be located in Boeotia. Ariosto is referring specifically to Bernardo Acolti (1465-1536), "il biondo Aonio," (l. 102), the famous improvisatore who appears as one of the interlocutors in Il Cortegiano (Segre, p. 565; Wiggins, pp. 166-67).

21. The Italian (l. 103) specifically identifies the doctor as Aonio's brother, Cardinal Pietro Acolti, a celebrated jurist and theologian, who was also noted for his depravity (Segre, p. 565). Julius II made him a cardinal, i.e., rewarded him with "a scarlet gowne, and formall corner cap."

22. Placidian (l. 147) and Andronico (l. 152) have not been identified.

23. For "seaven year," the Italian reads "settant'anni" (l. 111), seventy years.

24. An inferior poet who lived at the court of Leo X (Segre, p. 566).

25. Perhaps Celso Secondo Curione (Curius), a Latinist at Leo's court (Segre, p. 566).

26. Ludovico da Ponte, a Ferrarese humanist, who was prosecuted as a heretic (Segre, p. 566).

27. Perhaps Flavio Biondo, the noted humanist and historian, who had been dead for more than fifty years before the composition of this Satire (Segre, p. 566).

28. Amato Cusatro, a Mantuan judge, who was tried in 1507 for incest and extortion (Segre, p. 566).

29. For "Masse Baptist" (l. 162) the Italian reads "mastro Battista" (l. 116); a reference to the surgeon Battista da Vercelli, who mixed poison with the medicine Leo took for the cure of his fistula. Battista and Cardinals Raffaele Riario and Alfonso Petrucci were among those implicated in the Conspiracy of the Cardinals (Segre, p. 566; Wiggins, p. 167; Kühner, p. 145). Tofte's note refers to the poisoning of Gentil Virginio Orsini, Duke of Bracciano, on 17 January 1497; Webster's The White Devil (1612) is based on this incident.

30. For "spanish figs" the Italian reads "veratro" (l. 117), hellebore.

31. i.e., Pietro Ascolti; see Explanatory Note 21 above.

32. Lines 185-186 are not found in the Italian.

33. Ariosto's reference is to Apollonius of Rhodes (b.c. 295 B.C.), the Greek poet and grammarian, who wrote the Argonautica (Segre, p. 567). Tofte's note is on Apollonius of Tyana (first century A.D.), a

33. (cont.) neo-Pythagorean sage, whose fame is due to a biography of him written by the rhetorician Philostratus (c. 200 A.D.). In this biography, Apollonius is celebrated as a kind of pagan Christ, who travels the countryside performing miracles.

34. Hesoid is the poet of Ascras (Segre, p. 567).

35. In lines 199-200 Tofte's translation is wrong; the Italian reads: "e quel che Galatea chiamò da l'onde,/Pindaro" (ll. 139-140); "and he who called Galatea from the waves, and Pindar" (Wiggins, p. 159). Not Pindar, but Theocritus (in his eleventh Idyll) describes the love of Polyphemus for Galatea (Segre, p. 567).

36. For lines 205-206 the Italian reads: "e le plautine/scene ha pedute, gauste e a pena vive" (ll. 143-144); "and he has seen the plays of Plautus, though they were maimed and scarce alive" (Wiggins, p. 159).

37. Lines 219-220 are not found in the Italian.

38. i.e., Phaedrus' translation of Aesop. Ariosto is exaggerating here; by 1494 (when he was twenty), he was writing competent Latin verse.

39. From 1494 to 1497 Gregorio di Andrea d'Angelo (da Spoleto) served as tutor to the children of Rinaldo d'Este and became the mentor of Ariosto, who praises him here and in his Lirica Latina IX. Little is known of Gregorio, except that he had been an Augustinian friar, prior of a convent in Siena, and a lecturer at the Sienese studio before he left his order to pursue humanistic studies (Gardner, p. 31).

40. Ariosto means that Gregorio could judge whether Vergil (Venus' son) or Homer (Thetis' boy) was the better poet.

41. Iliad, XXII.

42. Iliad, X.

43. Juno is responsible for Aeneas' adventures, which are narrated in the AEneid.

44. Tofte's note is essentially correct. Beatrice d'Este was the wife of Lodovico il Moro, not Francesco Sforza, a fact which Tofte's ambiguous sentense structure does not make clear.

45. Tofte's note is taken almost verbatim from Guicciardini (Alexander, p. 155).

46. Ariosto was twenty-six when his father died in 1500. His five sisters were Taddea Giovanna (1475-1492), Laura Margherita (1479-?), Giulia Giovanna (1480-?), Taddea (1493-1520), and Virginia. For ll. 283-284, the Italian reads: "Mi more il padre, e da Maria il pensiero/drieto a Marta bisogna ch'io rivolga" (ll. 199-200); "My father died, and I was forced to turn my thoughts from Mary back to Martha" (Wiggins, p. 163). Ariosto alludes to Luke 10:38-42, where Mary represents the contemplative life, Martha the active life (Segre, p. 569). Tofte's misreading of Maria for Marta (l. 284) and his note on the two Maria's are obvious errors.

47. Between lines 284 and 285 Tofte omits one line from the Italian: "ch'io muti in squarci et in vacchette Omero" (l. 201); "and to exchange Homer for account books and ledgers" (Wiggins, p. 163).

48. Laura married in 1501, Taddea in 1518 (Segre, p. 569).

49. Gabriele.

50. Galasso and Alessandro.

51. Pandolfo Ariosto served Ercole I of Ferrara and Cardinal Ippolito. Although very little is known about him, Ariosto's biographers believe that he was responsible for enlisting Ludovico in the Cardinal's service, and for convincing Ludovico's father not to force him to study law. Lirica Latina II and VI are addressed to Pandolfo, for whom Ariosto had great admiration.

52. Pandolfo died in 1506 or 1507.

53. Lines 341-342 are not found in the Italian.

54. Julius was elected pope in 1503; he died in 1513. Ariosto entered the service of Ippolito in 1503 and left in 1517, almost five years after the election of Leo X, not seven as he says here (Segre, p. 571).

55. Actually fifteen years.

56. The anecdote of the philosopher is told by Pliny the Elder in his Naturalis Història, VII, 90 (Segre, p. 571). The anecdote does not appear in the Attic Nights of Aulus Gellius (born c. 130 A.D.).

57. The Italian text ends here. I have not found a source for the tale of the ignorant Spaniard (ll. 369-450). There are analogues in the Facetiae of Poggio and in Anthony Copley's Wits Fittes and Fancies (London, 1596), a diverse collection of anecdotes in which Spaniards are frequently the object of ridicule.

58. "Hail blessed father." From Aeneas' funeral address to his father (Aeneid, V, 80).

59. "Where do you come from?"

60. "Where are the letters?"

61. "In my bag."

62. "God bless the holy mother."

63. "I am not the mother of Christ."

64. "Periquito" is the Spanish word for "parakeet."

65. "Young man, the devil possesses you."

66. "We will accept the money."

67. "We will admit the Ass."

Satire 7

1. Satire 7, written in March or April of 1524, was occasioned by a letter from Bonaventura Pistofilo, Duke Alfonso's secretary and biographer, in which Ariosto was offered the position of permanent ambassador to the papal court of the new pope, Clement VII. Like Satire 3, this epistle contains a scathing denunciation of the life of a courtier, who continually strives after recognition, benefices, and patronage and is continually disappointed. Although Satire 7 predates Satire 6, most Italian critics see it as a fitting conclusion to the Satires, because in it the poet expresses his strongest disillusionment with and final renunciation of the political and ecclesiastical powers against whom he had always struggled: the Estensi and the Medici popes.

2. Pistofilo wrote to Ariosto offering the Vatican post in March of 1524. Alfonso recalled Ariosto from Garfagnana in April of 1525,

2. (cont.) and the poet returned to Ferrara two months later. Pistofilo was not directly responsible for Ariosto's being relieved of his Commissariat, although he seems to have represented the poet's interests with their mutual employer, Duke Alfonso (Gardner, pp. 179-83).
3. Giulio de' Medici (1475-1534) was elected pope on 19 November 1523. He was the illegitimate son of Giuliano, who was the brother of Lorenzo the Magnificent. Therefore he was Leo's cousin, not his nephew as Tofte indicates. Tofte seems to have confused Giuliano, the father of Clement VII, with Giuliano, the brother of Leo X. Clement promised Catherine de' Medici to the son of Francis I, the future Henry II, in order to prevent excessive imperial influence in Italy. The wedding took place on 12 October 1533. During the sack of Rome, Clement was taken prisoner (on 5 June 1527) and held for seven months. He died after a lengthy illness in September of 1534. Tofte's analysis of Clement's character and reputation is taken from Guicciardini (Alexander, pp. 440-42).
4. For "three years space" the Italian reads "per uno anno or per dui" (l. 3).
5. Tofte's note on Leo is based closely on the analysis of Guicciardini (Alexander, pp. 271-76, 327-28).
6. i.e., when he was elected pope.
7. Lines 23-24 are not found in the Italian.
8. For lines 31-32 the Italian reads: "e far di bue mi volgi un barbaresco" (l. 21); "and to transform me from an ox to a Barbary charger" (Wiggins, P. 177).

9. Tofte's Latin proverb, "An old fox cannot be taken by a snare," is from Erasmus, Adagia, 372E (Tilley, F647).

10. Ariosto alludes to the myth of Pandora's box as told by Hesiod (Theogony, 507-14; Works and Days, 47-105). Pandora, who was given a vessel that contained things harmful to mankind and was ordered by the gods never to open it, became curious about its contents. While in the house of Epimetheus (Afterthought), she opened the box; plagues and torments escaped to afflict mankind. She managed to close the lid, but Hope was trapped inside. Tofte interprets the reference to Epimetheus as an allusion to the Tale of Prometheus and Epimetheus as told by Plato (Protagoras, 320D to 321D). Prometheus (Forethought) and Epimetheus are ordered by Zeus to equip mortal creatures with survival capabilities. Epimetheus distributes the qualities while Prometheus inspects the results of his distribution. Because he fails to plan ahead, Epimetheus runs out of abilities before he comes to man, and Prometheus must steal fire from the gods to give man an opportunity to survive.

11. For "Buffone" (i.e., buffoon) the Italian reads "buffalo" (l. 45).

12. i.e., the Wheel of Fortune, as it was represented in Ariosto's time on Tarot cards (Segre, p. 573).

13. Tofte's Latin proverb means "Fortune favors fools" (Tilley, F600).

14. For lines 83-86, the Italian reads:

> Vi si vede anco che ciascun che ascende
> commincia a inasinir le prime membre,
> e resta umano quel che a dietro pende.
>
> (11. 52-54)

14. (cont.) "There one also sees all who ascend begin to grow donkey-like in their forward parts while what hangs behind remains human" (Wiggins, p. 179).

15. An allusion to Leo's practice of promoting allies to the office of cardinal. On one day alone (26 June 1517), he created thirty-one new cardinals (Segre, p. 574).

16. An allusion to Ariosto's disappointment with Leo while the poet was in Rome in 1513 during the first two weeks of April, awaiting Leo's coronation (Wiggins, p. 186).

17. Tofte's note is historically accurate, with the exception of his erroneous identification of Don Pedro de Toledo, Viceroy of Naples, as Don Diego. For his discussion of the events preceding the death of Alexander and the flight of Lorenzino in 1534, Tofte borrows heavily from Guicciardini. For the discussion of Cosimo and his descendants, Tofte may have used more recent sources: Guicciardini's History concludes with the year 1534, the chronicles of Varchi with 1538, Segni with 1555, and Adriani with 1574. He also may have learned of the history of the Medici on his Italian journey. The marriage of Ferdinand I to Christine of Lorraine took place in 1589, only two years before Tofte was in Italy.

18. Carlos Sosena, a Ferrarese astrologer and cleric, was a favorite of Duke Alfonso. He claimed to possess a supernatural spirit ("bright spright", l. 147) that allowed him to perform magical enchantments (Segre, p. 575).

19. Tofte's note is essentially accurate: Lorenzino's wife was Madeleine (de la Tour d'Auvergne, d. 1519); Catherine de' Medici died on 5 January 1589. Most of the information in the note is based on Guicciardini (Alexander, pp. 302, 409-10). The comparison between Lorenzino and Maecenas (Horace's patron) is inappropriate; Tofte confuses Lorenzino (Lorenzo, Duke of Urbino) with his grandfather, Lorenzo Il Magnifico, who was indeed esteemed for his "valour and learning."
20. See Satire 3, Explanatory Note 13.
21. Luigi de' Rossi, son of Maria (an illegitimate sister of Lorenzo the Magnificent), was made cardinal in 1517; he died in 1519 (Segre, p. 576).
22. See Satire 3, Explanatory Note 23. I have not been able to verify Tofte's statement that Bibbiena served as Giuliano's executor. He was secretary to Lorenzo, Piero, and finally to Giovanni (Leo X).
23. Leo sent Bibbiena to Tours to the court of Francis I as a papal legate in 1518; he had made Bibbiena a cardinal in 1513, immediately after becoming pope.
24. Contessina de' Medici (1478-1515), a sister of Leo X, wife of Piero Ridolfi.
25. Maddalena de' Medici (1473-1519), a sister of Leo X, wife of Francesco Cybo. Tofte confuses her with Madeleine de la Tour d'Auvergne (note 19).
26. For line 159, the Italian reads: "a la nora, a la socera" (l. 101); "to the daughter-in-law and the mother-in-law."

27. The daughter-in-law is Madeleine de la Tour d'Auvergne, Lorenzino's wife. The mother-in-law is Alfonsina Orsini (1472-1520), Lorenzino's mother, Leo's sister-in-law (Segre, p. 576). Guicciardini reports that Leo "gave his sister Maddalena the emoluments and exactions of the indulgences of many parts of Germany" (Alexander, p. 321), an action that did indeed encourage Luther to condemn Leo.

28. Tofte's note is based on Guicciardini's account of the coronation (Alexander, pp. 275-76).

29. Tofte's necrology is nearly correct, with the exception of the date for Piero, who died in 1503; the dates of death for the others are: Giuliano, 1516; Lorenzino, 1519; Contessina, 1515; Alphonsina, 1520; Leo, 1521.

30. Apollo (the Sun) founded Troy. Before the Sun returns eight times to the sign of Leo (Ariosto predicts), Giovanni de' Medici will be dead. Giovanni became pope on 15 March 1513; he died on 1 December 1521 (Segre, p. 576).

31. Jacopo Sadoleto (1477-1552) of Modena, humanist and ciceronian; Pietro Bembo (Satire 6); Paolo Giovio (1483-1552), historian and biographer, author of Historiae sui temporis; Francesco Molza (1489-1544), Modenese humanist who attached himself to Leo's court in hopes of advancement; Marco Girolamo Vida (1485?-1566), Bishop of Alba, author of Latin poems, including The Christiad; Blosio Palladio, secretary to Clement VII and Paul III; Antonio Tebaldi (1463-1537), called Il Tebaldeo, a popular Ferrarese poet. Tofte omits the name of Marco Cavallo, a Latin poet who is compared to

31. (cont.) Pegasus in the Orlando Furioso, XLII, 91; he adds the name of Giovanni Pontano (1426?-1503), known as Jovianus Pontanus, a Neapolitan humanist and accomplished Latinist.

32. The Subura, a gathering place for prostitutes, was the area of highest population density in the city of Rome; the chief provision-market was located there as was the entrance to the main sewer. The Latin proverb, which means "Where the carcass is there are the ravens," is similar to the English saying, "Where the carcass is there the eagles will gather" (Tilley, C73). The verses that Tofte cites are from Martial (Epigrammata, VI, 66, 1-2): "A girl of not too good a reputation, one of such as sit in the middle of the Subura" (Martial, Epigrams, tr. Walter C. A. Ker [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961], I, 401). Juvenal also refers to the Subura in a similar context (Satires, V.106; III.5; X.156; XI.51.141).

33. Horace's name for the Capitol in Rome was "sacer clivus" (Odes, IV.2.35), "sacred hillside" (Segre, p. 577).

34. Following line 210 Tofte omits Ariosto's reference to the shrine of Janus: "e qui il solea aver Iano" (l. 135).

35. The Vatican Library was founded by Pope Nicholas V (d. 1455), opened to the public by Sixtus IV (d. 1484), and greatly expanded by Sixtus V (d. 1590).

36. Lines 221-222 are not found in the Italian.

37. The anecdote is from Plutarch, Vita Aem. Pauli, V (Segre, p. 578). Tofte's note is accurate.

38. The two statues are of Niccolò III, the first prince of the Este dynasty, and Borso, one of his illegitimate sons who was the third prince (Segre, p. 578). Leonello, another illegitimate son, was the second prince.

39. For lines 245-249, the Italian reads: "o piu di quelli macro/che stan bramando in purgatorio il pomo" (ll. 155-156); "or I would grow thinner than those wretches who linger in Purgatory hungering for the apple" (Wiggins, p. 185). Ariosto's allusion is to Dante's Purgatorio, XXIII, ll. 22-36 (Segre, p. 578). Tofte's translation (particularly lines 246) indicates that he did not recognize the allusion to Dante.

40. The tale of Francis I and the old man (ll. 249-294) is not found in the Italian; I have not found a source of the tale. Tofte's purpose in the addition seems to be to illustrate the idea found in line 244.

41. Argenta, a small town about twenty miles from Ferrara; Bondeno, twelve miles (Segre, p. 579).

42. Lines 303-308 are not found in the Italian.

43. Ariosto turned forty-nine in September of 1523. For "fourescore nine" the Italian reads "quaranta nove" (l. 167).

44. Lines 318-320 are not found in the Italian.

45. For "dame Amber" (l. 329), the Italian reads "madonna Ambra." Neither the lady nor her daughter has been identified.

46. This bawdy remark about the daughter is not found in the Italian.

47. For "father Canon," the Italian reads "il padre canonico" (the canonical father); Tofte's statement that he was "lately dead" is not found in the Italian.

48. Lines 343-372 are not found in the Italian. Tofte's purpose in adding this passage seems to be twofold: to reassert his incorrect belief that Pistofilo was responsible for relieving Ariosto of his duties as Commissioner in Garfagnana; and to reemphasize that Ariosto wants to return to Ferrara to be with Alessandra.

49. I have not been able to verify or to find a source for Tofte's comments on Pistofilo. Ariosto praises him in the Orlando Furioso (XLVI.18.1-2) and in the correspondence addressed to him from Garfagnana (Gardner, pp. 172-79). Modern critics have little to say about him, other than to identify him as Alfonso's secretary and biographer.

TEXTUAL NOTES

The Argument

Emendations of Accidentals

8 *Este*] this edn.; *Esta* AB

79 *Baptists*] B; *Baptist* A

103 *Graffignana*] this edn.; *Grassignana* AB

Collation [Containing Rejected Substantive Variants in B]

105 *of*] not in B

Satire 1

Emendations of Substantives

35 *oyld*] B; *old* A

52:a.3 *it*] B; not in A

65 *in the winter breathes*] B; *the winters breaths* A

92 *to*] B; not in A

128 *loathe*] B; not in A

132:e.1 *to*] B; *&* A

163 *Doe*] B; not in A

196 *higher roome*] B; *hier Rome* A

298 *sheepe*] B; *flocks* A

322 *drove*] this edn.; *drive* AB

368 *strand*] B; *stand* A

Emendations of Accidentals

162 *Bergamaskes*] this edn.; *Bergamiskes* AB

192 *Apenins*] B; *Apenius* A

223:k.1 *Este*] this edn.; *Esta* AB

314 *opinions*] B; *opinious* A

334 *guide*] B; *guid* A

Emendations of Punctuation

11 *learnedly*^] B; ∿, A

12 *flattery*,] B; ∿. A

26 *send*^] this edn.; ∿, AB

28 *plaies?*] B; ∿, A

148 *povertie.*] B; ∿^ A

149:f.3 *Orlando*^] B; ∿, A

159 *lookes*,] B; ∿. A

162 *industriously*^] B; ∿, A

177 *labour?*] B; ∿, A

therein,] B; ∿? A

180 *affaires.*] B; ∿? A

230 *flowne*^] B; ∿. A

288 *say*^] B; ∿. A

Collation [Containing Rejected Substantive Variants in B]

Title *The first Satyre.*] *THE FRIST SATYR OF ARIOSTOS.*

1 *of*] not in B

96 *provisions*] *provision*

141 *performe*] *performes*

148 *respects*] *respect*

197 *tired*] *tierd*

205:h.9 *now are*] *are now*

211:i] at line 213

235 *unwieldy*] *unwieldly*

278 *humors*] *homour*

282 *a*] *on*

319:q] at line 317

340 *can nor*] *cannot*

346 *of*] not in B

400 *skinne*] *sinne*

Satire 2

Emendations of Substantives

33 *or*] this edn.; *of* AB

82 *peece*] B; *price* A

95 *with*] B; *such* A

109 *at board*] A; *abroad* A

157:o.1 *St. Agata*] this edn.; *St. Agaps* AB

157 *St. Agats*] this edn.; *St. Agaps* AB

197:q.2 *St. Agata*] this edn.; *S. Angello* AB

371:z] this edn.; in AB, this note appears as note b to line 409

373 *And hence*] B; *Sons* A

397:a] this edn.; in AB, this note appears as note z to line 371

409:b] this edn.; in AB, this note appears as note a to line 397

Emendations of Accidentals

29 *warmth*] B; *warmt'h* A

46:f.1 *Mantua,*] B; *Mantu,a* A

81:g.2 *Un Corso*] B; *Nn Corso* A

97:h.4 *Gualing*] this edn.; *Gnaling* AB

99 *Gualing*] this edn.; *Gnaling* AB

100 *Vernachia*] B; *Vennachia* A

139:§] this edn.; siglum not in B

153 ^{n}*Well*] B; ^{u}*Well* A

166 *soveraignty*] this edn.; *soveraginty* AB

240 *roome*] B; *rome* A

258 *sleight*] this edn.; *slieght* A; *slight* B

323 *ambitions*] B; *ambitious* A

350:x] this edn.; superscript letter at line 352 in AB

366 *fashions*] B; *fashion* A

371:z.8 *Cantons*] B; *Cautons* A

Emendations of Punctuation

1 *desires,*] B; ∿^ A

1 *become^*] B; ∿, A

20:d.1 *long,*] B; ∿^ A

20:d.3 *him.*] B; ∿^ A

77 *worse,*] B; ∿^ A

118 *ridiculous*)] this edn.; ∿: AB

119 *Signior*(] this edn.; ∿^ AB

347 *belong*,] B; ∿? A

406 *colour*,] B; ∿^ A

432 *these*,] this edn.; ∿. AB

508 *sense?*] B; ∿. A

Collation [Containing Rejected Substantive Variants in B]

Title *The second Satyre.*] *THE SECOND SATYRE OF ARIOSTO.*

68 *come*] *comes*

97 *Moskins head*] *Moskinshead*

112 *you*] *your*

124 *Es*] *Et*

135:m.26 *one*] *on*

197:q.5 *thereof*] *hereof*

198 *friend*] *friends*

349 *and*] *and by*

350:x.1 *chefest*] *chief*

362 *bring*] *wring*

397:a.5 *equall*] not in B

454 *rasures*] *reasures*

467 *glory*] *glories*

Satire 3

Emendations of Substantives

30 *log*] this edn.; *clog* AB

44 *rising*] B; *risings* A

241 *other*] B; *either* A

341 *seem'd*] B; *sent* A

Emendations of Accidentals

2:b] this edn.; superscript letter not in AB

34 *cringing*] B; *cringging* A

59 *Nightingale*] B; *Nightinglale* A

72 *great*] B; *graet* B

74 *quilte*] this edn.; *quilke* AB

100 *unite*] B; *unile* A

141:g.6 *Urbin*] B; *Uebin* A

143:h.3 *Padua*] B; *Padea* A

148 *us'd*] B; *us d* A

194 *might*] B; *migh* A

259 *Soderine*] this edn.; *Sodernie* A; *Soderny* B

348 *might*] B; *migh* A

472 *Tissue*] B; *Tissus* A

Emendations of Punctuation

10 (*though*] B; ^~ A

made.] B; ~^ A

17 *heavy,*] B; ~^ A

36 *entire:*] B; ~. A

60 *well:*] B; ~^ A

98 *lost,*] B; ∿. A

112 *grace.*] B; ∿^ A

140 *hope^*] B; ∿. A

143:h.4 *buried;*] this edn.; ∿^ AB

149:i.4 (*which*] B; ∿(A

224 (*He*] B; ∿^ A

cast.] B; ∿^ A

230 *crosse,*] B; ∿. A

250 *glory,*] B; ∿. A

282 *memory^*] B; ∿. A

Collation [Containing Rejected Substantive Variants in B]

Title *The third Satyre.*] *THE THIRD SATYRE OF ARIOSTO*

8 *unto*] *to*

23:d.1 *first*] not in B

57 *one*] *on*

83 *marshall*] *martiall*

137 *or*] *not*

149:i.] *into*] *to*

179 *A tale.*] not in B

225 *this*] *his*

230 *him*] not in B

236 *toy*] *coy*

340 *was*] not in B

387 *best best*] *best*

453 *by drabs*] *or by drabs*

492 *owne*] not in B

Satire 4

Emendations of Substantives

25 *man*] B; *men* A

67 *are*] B; *and* A

289 *praires*] this edn.; *praies* AB

295 *on*] B; *of* A

531 *mistrust*] B; *instruct* A

585 *in sleepe*] B; not in A

602 *scarcely*] B; *scarce* A

Emendations of Accidentals

53:e.3 *becommed*] B; *becomeed* A

73:§.2 *strength*] this edn.; *strengh* B

147:h.4 *friends*] B; *friend* A

303:o] this edn.; superscript letter not in AB

309 *private*] B; *prinate* A

332 *her*] B; *he* A

367:q.2 *Friers*] B; *Priers* A

368 *Frier*] this edn.; *Frire* AB

386 *Sleekstone*] this edn.; *sleikstone* A; *slicke-stone* B

460 *do*] B; *doh* A

517:z.1 *braggarts*] this edn.; *braggants* AB

549:b.10 *although*] B; *altough* A

549:b.26 *student*] B; *studdent* A

Emendations of Punctuation

1 *friends,*] B; ∿^ A

120 *together.*] B; ∿^ A

158 *spy?*] B; ∿: A

198 "] this edn.; inverted commas not in AB

279 *chuse;*] B; ∿^ A

280 *beautie^*] B; ∿; A

360 *words,*] B; ∿^ A

398 ^*Though*] B; (*Though* A

399 *away,*] B; ∿^ A

478 *set,*] B; ∿. A

Collation [Containing Rejected Substantive Variants in B]

Title *The fourth Satyre.*] *THE FOURTH SATYRE OF ARIOSTO.*

35 *worst*] *worse*

37:d.1 *much*] not in B

39 *nor*] *or*

52 *these*] *your*

147:h.6 *livings*] *living*

198 *cleannest*] *cleane*

251 *shall*] *should*

286 *them*] *men*

326 *wherein*] *when in*

343 *heate*] *hate*

549:b.12 *resort*] *resorted*

580 *Nor*] *No*

617:d.2 *unto*] *to*

617:d.11 *whereof*] *thereof*

623:e.5 *No doubt*] precedes *"Joco di mano"* in B

Satire 5

Emendations of Substantives

50 *but*] B; not in A

52 *Adages*] B; *ordages* A

204 *Iaco*] this edn.; *Luco* AB

309 *did*] B; not in A

318 *least*] B; *lost* A

342 *Of*] B; *A* A

348 *pommel*] B; *pannell* A

Emendations of Accidentals

Argument *any man*] B; *anyman* A

61 *affections*] B; *affectious* A

122 *disorder*] B; *disorders* A

125 *Magnanimous*] B; *Magnanimus* A

194 *With all*] B; *Withall* A

346 *T'wixt*] B; *T'ixt* A

Emendations of Punctuation

6 *fleetes,*] B; ∿. A

26 *reporte,*] B; ∿. A

29 *least*^] B; ∿, A

33 *conceme,*] B; ∿. A

99 *shame*)] B; ∿^ A

101:f.1 *Hermilian,*] B; ∿^ A

233 *aire*^] B; ∿, A

234 *care,*] B; ∿^ A

256 *grave*)] this edn.; ∿: AB

284 *grow,*] B; ∿, A

292 *state,*] B; ∿. A

310 *have*^] this edn.; ∿. A; ∿, B

311 *customes;*] B; ∿^ A

341 *king*^] B; ∿, A

343 *accept*^] this edn.; ∿, AB

345 ^*Forgetfull*] B; (*Forgetfull* A

Collation [Containing Rejected Substantive Variants in B]

Title *The fift Satyre.*] *THE FIFTH SATYRE OF ARIOSTO.*

5:a.1 *mountaines*] *mountaine*

11:c.3 *light*] *of light*

16 *tyrannies*] *tyranny*

48 *can nor*] *cannot*

112 *hopes*] *hope*

125 *cals*] *call*

174 *this*] *his*

229 *hence*] *thence*

254 *numbers*] *number*

270 *or*] *to*

305 note o] superscript letter precedes *Marzoccus* in B

Satire 6

Emendations of Substantives

81 *thee*] B; *they* A

132:h.6 *Vita*] this edn.; *Villa* AB

198 *Ascrean*] this edn.; *Astrean* AB

420 *mater*] B; *parens* A

427 *mater*] B; *parens* A

428 *with an open clatter*] B; *in an open audience* A

Emendations of Accidentals

3:b.3 *Gian*] this edn.; *Gran* AB

3:b.4 *Genevra*] this edn.; *Geneveca* AB

83 *Cosmico*] this edn.; *Cosnico* AB

86 *Renverso*] B; *Revreso* A

93 *since*] B; *Since* A

131:g.1 *Giovan*] this edn.; *Gionan* AB

131:g.10 *Epytaphe*] this edn.; *Epytathe* A; *Epitaph* B

265:s.2 *Galeazzo*] this edn.; *Galbazzo* AB

265:s.4 *Pavia*] this edn.; *Pania* AB

357:e.3 *infirmity*] B; *infinnmity* A

370 *worldly*] B; *wordly* A

435 *habes adolescens*] B; *habe adolescen* A

Emendations of Punctuation

20 *pleasure,*] B; ∿. A

36 *knave.*] B; ∿^ A

39 *challenge,*] B; ∿^ A

*approve^*] B; ∿, A

48 *all,*] B; ∿. A

55:d.2 *Lupo,*] this edn.; ∿^ AB

78 *be?*] B; ∿. A

92 *forbid*] B; ∿. A

104 *enthrall,*] B; ∿^ A

142 *choice,*] B; ∿. A

212 *industry,*] B; ∿. A

216 *company^*] B; ∿. A

268 *sufficiently,*] B; ∿. A

319 *deare,*] B; ∿^ A

Collation [Containing Rejected Substantive Variants in B]

Title *The sixt Satyre.*] *THE SIXT SATYRE OF ARIOSTO.*

131:g.2 *Italian*] *Italy*

190 *nor*] *not*

289:y.1 *he not*] *not hee*

347 *workes*] *work*

369 *an*] *a*

428 *this*] *the*

Satire 7

Emendations of Substantives

15:c.4 *courtiers*] B; *countries* A

83 *tis*] B; *these* A

158:x.1 *his*] B; not in A

273 *twas*] B; *was* A

292 *As*] B; *At* A

Emendations of Accidentals

1:a.2 *Graffagnana*] this edn.; *Graffanana* AB

43:d.1 *Vulpes*] B; *Vultes* A

48 *businesse*] B; *buisinesse* A

63 *and*] B; *and and* A

79:g.2 *her*] B; *he* A

81 *Without*] B; *Withour* A

132 *tallnesse*] B; *talenesse* A

142:n.5 *Alexander*] B; *Alexandre* A

142:n.13 *Cosimo*] this edn.; *Cosmo* AB

147 *Charles*] B; *Gharles* A

149:p.15 *Cosimo*] this edn.; *Cosmo* AB

241:h.3 *Borzo*] this edn.; *Bozro* AB

241:h.3 *Este*] this edn.; *Esta* AB

351:n.3 *daies*] B; *daias* A

Emendations of Punctuation

Address *Bonaventer*∧] B; ∿, A

57 *if*(] B; (∿ A

136 *skie*,] B; ∿. A

145 *prove*∧] this edn.; ∿, AB

152 *afraid*,] B; ∿∧ A

192 *exile*,] B; ∿∧ A

Collation [Containing Rejected Substantive Variants in B]

Title *The seventh and last Satyre.*] *THE SEVENTH SATYRE OF ARIOSTO.*

The Argument *courtesies*] *curtesie*

15:c.15 *and felicitie*] not in B

140 *hopes*] *hope*

142:n.2 *within two yeares after*] not in B

142:n.3 (*although in a manner constrained therunto*)] not in B

142:n.5 *where he followed the Emperour Charles the fit*] not in B

142:n.17 *Who was called Ferdinando di Medices, gran Duca di Tucsano*] not in B

230:g.4 *upon*] not in B

230:g.7 *wittie*] not in B

271 *cities*] *citie*

301:i.3 *misliked*] *disliked*

351:n.7 *his*] *this*

366 *best*] *the best*

370 *thy*] *my*

GLOSSARY

Parts of speech are given only when needed to clarify meanings. The following abbreviations are used: "ep." to indicate the epistle "To the Reader"; "arg." to indicate "The argument of the whole worke."

about: i.e., a bout (7.338)

affect (v.): seek to obtain (arg. 15)

affections, affects: passions (3.316; 5.42; 5.62)

afford: fulfill (3.300)

alleage, alledge: plead (5.184; 7.341)

alledging: asserting without proof (6.50)

amuze: muze on (6.417)

an: and (4.596)

anoy (sb.): vexation (5.222); suffering (6.194)

appeach: accuse (6.126)

appeare: appearance (6.223)

approve, aprove: attempt (1.110; 1.221); confirm (3.133; 3.265; 3.274); display (4.523); experience (4.346; 7.356); prove (6.39)

assoone: immediately (3.433; 5.11)

bables: i.e., baubles: childish or foolish people (1.278); trifles (3.71)

Barbary: Saracen countries along the north coast of Africa (5.193-h.3); Moroccan horse (5.340)

because: so that (4.114-g.5)

behind: still to come (1.349)

bethinke thee: recollect (6.21)

betimes: early in life (4.57)

bore: i.e., boor: rustic (2.57); i.e., boar (2.63)

brabbles: noisy quarrels (6.236; 5.272)

brave (adj.): worthy (7.147); (v.): boast (6.35)

breake: reveal (5.38)

broke up: violated (4.131)

brothel (adj.): vile (1.267; 2.254)

Buffone: i.e., Buffoon (7.73)

Bug-beare: an imaginary terror (4.49)

Burgamasks, Bergamasks: industrial workers (1.162); low dialectal expressions (6.168)

bussing: whispering (4.98)

cap (v.): doff (5.155)

cariage: conduct (4.43)

caroche: coach (4.236)

carver: one who chooses at his own discretion (4.626)

case: physical condition (1.407)

caiter, cater: i.e., caterer (1.239; 2.429)

chanting: i.e., enchanting (4.294)

chapmen: traders, negotiators (3.517)

chop and change: buy and sell (7.358)

clap: impose (6.145)

cleane: completely (arg. 53)

cleare: innocent (6.154)

cleave: cling (3.8; 4.31; 4.435); sever (2.17)

cloid: i.e., cloyed: surfeited (1.393)

close (adj.): secret (6.273); confined (1.101)

close-stoole: privy (5.176)

clowne: rustic (4.130)

coat (sb.): kind (4.367:q.3; 6.121)

commandment: authority (5.136)

commerce (sb.): conversation (6.240); fellowship (6.315)

commercement(s): company, fellowship (1.310); dealings (2.14); associate(s) (4.208)

compare (sb.): comparison (6.52; 7.23)

confound: bring to ruin (1.250)

confusedly: without order or rule (6.66); with bewilderment (6.102)

consort (sb.): society (4.545)

coopled: i.e., coupled: tied together in a brace (4.500)

corsive: i.e., corrosive: annoyance (arg. 50)

cost: i.e., coast (3.97)

crackt: i.e., cracked: unsound moral character (4.131)

create: i.e., created (6.343)

crompe (v.): i.e., crump: bend (3.33:§.2)

crope: crept (4.105)

crue: i.e., crew (7.73)

curious: expert (2.43; 5.116); inquisitive (1.237); particular, fastidious (2.39)

curiously: carefully (1.350; 7.84); excellently (3.543); inquisitively (5.71)

dance attendance: wait in line for favors (arg. 41; 2.528)

date (sb.): the end of a period of time (6.274)

delayed: diluted (2.76)

demeanes: i.e., demesnes: possessions (3.468; 3.514)

depth: produndity (6.66)

desart, desert (sb.): merit (1.16; 1.294; 2.164; 2.179); reward (2.226; 3.218); worthy deed (5.159)

desertless: unmerited (3.440)

discommend: blame (1.25; 1.37; 1.112)

disease (v.): inconvenience (3.323)

disparagement: indignity (6.18); discrediting (6.37:d.14)

draught: that which horses draw (4.248)

draw: drive out (5.241); obtain (7.55)

eftsoones: soon after (7.84)

emulations: rivalries (7.3:b.7)

epithetons: attributes (3.87:§.1)

escapes: involuntary outbursts of feeling (7.326)

espialls: a spy (arg. 18)

even: fully (5.131); just then (5.212)

ever: eternally (7.167)

expect: await (7.90)

fame: rumor (4.94; 2.378); public report (6.379)

famozed: made famous (6.398)

fare: i.e., fair (4.430)

farre to seek: not at hand (6.219)

feare: peril (7.131)

fleame: phlegm (4.400)

fleetes: flows swiftly (5.6)

flingers: impulsive people (4.608)

flit: change direction (6.140)

flow: i.e., flow (2.192)

fond: foolish (4.239)

foote cloathe: ornamental cloth laid over the back of a horse; a mark of dignity (7.305)

for the nonce: for the purpose (6.167)

forked: horned (4.570)

frame: produce, cause to pass (1.125); succeed (1.234); request (2.138)

fresco: fresh air (5.218)

geese: i.e., guess (7.258)

glewd: i.e., glued (3.72)

Gods cope: a proverbial expression for a very large sum (6.172)

Gonfalconer: i.e., Gonfalonier (3.149; 3.149:i.4)

gossip: newsmonger (4.308)

gree: agree (1.236)

heat, heate: sexual desire (4,343; 6.37:c.17; 6.149)

horne-book: a primer on cuckoldry (4.92)

husht: be silent (3.459)

Hydra: many-headed (5.127)

ill: iniquity (5.66); maliciously (5.124)

imagery: groundless belief (5.112)

importune: burden (4.473)

imputations: accusations (1.8)

incontinent: immediately (7.262)

Indian state: i.e., the Indies (7.38)

indite: write (7.211)

ingrosse: i.e., engross: buy up wholesale (3.531)

intrudes: usurps (5.150)

Ironice: ironic (6.37:c.2)

jakes: privy (4.433)

jarre: disagreement (5.294)

keep: cause (5.354)

keep state: maintain existence (7.83:h.3)

keies: quays (5.135)

learned: taught (4.194)

leave: allow (4.202)

Ledger: resident ambassador (7.4)

losse: failure (1.19)

magnificall: munificent (7.15:c.24)

make (sb.): mate (4.451:x.5; 6.286)

marrish: marshy (2.75)

matter: i.e., mattress (2.39)

mewed up: confirmed (4.211:i.4)

moile: i.e., mule (2.21; 2.296; 2.448)

motion: desire (5.70); promotion (7.8)

naturall: illegitimate (arg. 14)

neare: i.e., never (1.187; 1.410; 3.38; 5.279)

nearelesse: i.e., neverless: nevertheless (5.57)

nearthelesse, nerethelesse: i.e., nevertheless (1.34; 1.403; 2.497; 3.39)

needments: requirements (3.390)

neere the neare: i.e., never the near: never nearer to one's purpose (3.356)

nere, ne're: i.e., never (2.165; 3.10; 3.29)

nere-lesse: i.e., nevertheless (7.225)

nice: wanton (4.234)

noisome: harmful (4.266); ill-smelling (4.433)

of: for (3.71)

one: i.e., on (3.55)

ore: i.e., o're: over (2.230; 3.396; 3.482)

other: i.e., others (3.126; 3.531; 5.47)

owne (adj.): that which is one's own (ep. 1)

oyld: i.e., oiled: flattering (1.35)

Palliard: lewd person (4.39)

pinde: i.e., pined: exhausted (3.258); i.e., pinned: enclosed (4.500)

plant (v.): furnish a vacant church with a minister (6.388)

playme: exercise my craft, i.e., writing (5.22)

plid'st: i.e., plied'st (6.90)

policie: political acumen (5.108)

praires: entreaties (4.289); sayings (4.283:m.1)

pray: i.e., prey (2.12; 2.360; 4.543)

precise: strict (4.348:§.1)

precission: i.e., precisian: one who is rigidly punctilious in the observance of rules or forms (4.368)

preferment: ecclesiastical appointment (arg. 42; arg. 74; 2.221; 3.2:b.3)

prolixitie: wearisome duration (6.255)

prove: suffer (4.100); experience (4.241)

provender: fodder (2.28)

pufpast: i.e., puffepaste: a light, flaky pastry, i.e., a person of insubstantial character (1.278)

quaile (v.): wither (4.338)

raced: razed (1.223:r.6)

races (sb.): breeds (4.191)

Raile: a bird of the family *Rallidae* (4.34)

randon: random (6.306)

rarely: finely (6.4; 7.198)

rasure: i.e., raser: dry measure containing four bushels (2.454)

rather: sooner (3.133)

read: i.e., red (3.303)

recure: cure, remedy (4.567)

reede: i.e., read: relate (4.164)

refine: separate (7.84)

renverso: i.e., reverse: the other way round (6.86)

resort: assemblage of people (4.547); i.e., resorted: gathered (4.549:b.11)

respect: regard (4.449)

rest: repose (3.77; 3.128)

retain: be a retainer to (3.41)

retire: refrain from sexual activity (4.145)

rising: promotion (3.44)

Saint Lukes badge: horns (or a cuckold) (4.91)

scholler: student (6.128)

scortch: i.e., scorch: scorched (3.179)

scower: go in haste (5.137)

scriv'ner: author (5.52)

sent: scent (1.63)

servants: lovers (4.200)

setting by the eares: putting (people) at variance (6.271:t.10)

shrive: make confession (2.195; 5.39)

skill: cleverness (4.201)

skils: settles or separates (2.71)

slave: rascal (4.39)

sleekstone: smooth stone used for polishing (4.386)

spight: despite (4.572)

staid: settled (7.316)

stale: decoy bird, prostitute (4.293)

stats: high ranks (3.304); people of high rank (4.449)

stragnized: i.e., "foreignized" (?) (4.438)

strawes: trifles (1.146)

stile: title (3.190; 7.150)

stuffe: household goods or utensils (1.106; 3.205)

sturre: disturbance (5.354)

suerties: baptismal sponsors (6.81)

surely: i.e., surly: arrogant (2.129)

suspect: suspicion (4.534)

table: palette (4.391:s.1)

taking: condition (5.231)

tels: quotes (5.51)

tiers: i.e., tires (3.500)

toies (sb.): i.e., toys: trifles (4.238; 4.390)

touch, tuch: feeling, emotion (1.132; 4.36); impression (2.305); have sexual contact with (4.46)

traide: i.e., tread (6.208)

treades: behaves (4.208; 4.542)

tride: plead (5.183); attempted (3.96)

trim: nice (2.462)

Turkie workes: Turkish tapestry (3.76)

unite: i.e., united (3.100; 4.120)

unreproveable: irreproachable (ep. 12)

usher: assistant to the schoolmaster (6.381)

vaile (v.): submit, bow (4.512); doff (7.50)

varnish: outward appearance (7.331)

venerie: the pursuit of sexual pleasure (5.32:d.1)

vent: an utterance of words (4.97)

venter: i.e., venture (3.106)

vild, vilder: vile, viler (4.374; 5.82)

villaine: low-born rustic (1.382)

voices: votes: (7.3:b.5)

wade: advance (7.8)

wallet: knapsack (5.85)

warres: i.e., worse: unfavorably (1.314)

watrish: composed of water (1.112)

Weather: i.e., wether: a male sheep (4.546)

welny: i.e., well nigh: nearly (7.118)

white: the center of a target (4.159)

withall: therewith (4.408)

wives marks: the cuckold's hornes (4.516)

woe: i.e., woo (3.518)

worke: cause (1.307)

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